

HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS



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GEORGE WASHINGTON

From portrait by Charles Willson Peale, after one by Peale completed subsequent to the Trenton-Princeton campaign. The original is now the property of France, and is said to have been painted for Lafayette. Reproduced by permission through kindness of Ambassador Jusserand.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY
MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS, M.A.

155 ILLUSTRATIONS AND 23 BLACK AND WHITE MAPS IN THE TEXT.
ALSO FRONTISPIECE AND ONE MAP IN FULL COLOR



PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

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MAY -1 1914



*Electrotyped and Printed by J. B. Lippincott Company
The Washington Square Press, Philadelphia, U. S. A.*

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To

THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER, TO WHOM
I OWE MY EARLIEST INTEREST
IN THE HISTORY OF MY COUNTRY

PREFACE

IN the preparation of this book I wish gratefully to acknowledge the aid freely and generously given me by a number of able teachers of history and by special investigators other than those referred to in the course of the text. I am indebted for helpful criticism to Mr. Joseph Packard, formerly President of the School Board of Baltimore city; Dr. Henry E. Shepherd, formerly President of the College of Charleston; Mr. William Leigh, Jr., of St. Luke's School, Wayne, Pa.; Miss Grace M. Gallaher, of Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore; Mr. George S. Wills, formerly of the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute; and Mr. William Tappan, Principal of the Jefferson School for Boys. To Mr. Wills and to Mr. Tappan I am under special obligations for invaluable criticism in the matters of composition and style.

Others who have reviewed the manuscript in whole or in part and who have greatly assisted in securing accuracy of statement or clearness of exposition are the Rt. Hon. James Bryce¹ and Mr. Sydney George Fisher, to both of whom I am indebted for the reading of portions of the manuscript and for suggestions on colonial history; to Mr. H. F. Powell, formerly on the staff of the Boston *Herald*, a special student of past and contemporary events; and to Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, of Massachusetts, author and specialist in American biographical studies. To Professor John H. Latané, of the Johns Hopkins University, I am especially grateful for generous and most able criticism, and to Mr. Charles Francis Adams for important suggestions in nomenclature and outline.

Limitations of space forbid acknowledgment of the many kindnesses and courtesies I have received from librarians and special

¹ Viscount, 1914.

students in every section of the country, with whom I was in correspondence in an endeavor to avail myself of the latest investigations on every subject discussed or touched upon in this volume.

In the matter of illustrations, I would particularly acknowledge the courtesy of Mr. F. H. Meserve, Mr. Wm. J. Campbell, and Mr. Charles W. Burrows, President of The United States History Company, publishers of Avery's History of the United States and its People.

M. P. A.

FOREWORD

It is frequently stated that American history is less interesting than the narratives of the Old World countries. The writer has not found it so. On the contrary, during an experience of several years as an instructor in secondary schools, he found that the history of the United States could be made the most attractive subject of its kind. This was due not merely to its more intimate connection with the student, but also to the opportunities it offered for discussion and variety of viewpoint. In the whole high school curriculum it proved to be the subject best adapted to arouse the interest of an otherwise uninterested pupil.

Practical experience as a teacher seemed clearly to indicate the need of a text-book that should present the results of the latest thought and research. The class-room comparison of text readings showed confusing divergencies of treatment in respect to the most important periods of United States history. These differences were not noted in the history texts of other countries, and were due to the fact that the writing of United States history had not emerged from the formative period to the present basis, a surer and, perhaps, a permanent one. In recent years new light has enveloped the oldest narrative landmarks. For example, since certain Spanish archives have been made accessible, we have learned more about the discoveries of John Cabot and their relative importance; and, because of painstaking work in the original English records, we are compelled to discredit much of the once-trusted narrative of Captain John Smith and to accept instead the testimony of the permanent settlers, as well as that of the founders, of the earliest English civilization in the New World. Unless recently written, no history has reaped the benefit of these labors of special investigators, to whom we are under lasting obligations.

The changes in the treatment of more recent history is, however, of greater importance than the discoveries among the older records. In the past few years writers on special topics have revolutionized historical viewpoints with regard to the political and social issues that distracted the country throughout the nineteenth century. The publication, for instance, of a single volume on the attitude of one State on the subject of slavery caused an American scholar and historian of international reputation to exclaim that, in the light of this new presentation, he would have to recast the views of a lifetime. The volume referred to was issued as late as 1910.

Charles Francis Adams has said, in speaking particularly of the American historians, that they err oftenest through preconceptions, patriotism, or religious prejudices. Comparatively little error on account of religious predilections is now evident in American history, but there still exists much that is due either to strong preconceptions or to sectional prejudices. This, also, is happily disappearing under the influence of a new "era of good feeling" that welcomes light and liberality. The historian should be thoroughly national and equally fair to every section of the country. A sense of proportion must always be present, and a State or section relatively of less importance now may have been powerful in a former period and should not, in proportionate treatment, suffer with respect to the period of its predominance. In this way only is the true historical perspective obtained.

Class-room experience has demonstrated the necessity for extraordinary effort to secure greater continuity of narrative in the treatment of United States history. Commencing with the fall of Constantinople or the birth of Columbus and continuing through a succession of Spanish, French, and Portuguese explorers is not truly beginning with the history of the United States as a country founded under other auspices. In a text-book, this method has the consequence of confusing the mind of the student with a hundred details of exploration that bear no important part in the development of the United States, however much they concern

the settlement of South America or Canada. Frequently, as much as one-seventh or even one-sixth of the text is devoted to events preceding the first English settlement. This space may certainly be used to better advantage in the real history of the United States. It is difficult enough to create, even approximately, a continuous story when the historian is confronted with thirteen different sources in English colonization alone. Therefore, for the sake of clearness, unity, continuity, and proportion, the narrative should commence with the first efforts of the colonization that was destined to shape and dominate the beginning of the republic.

In this book, no unpractical or theoretical list of authorities takes up space at the end of each chapter. Brief suggestions with regard to authorities and their relative importance are presented in an appendix. Illustrations are given throughout the book, because the author had opportunity, as a teacher, to observe their practical value. Moreover, the tendency of the age in every line of work is toward more and better illustrations rather than away from them. No effort has been made to "write down" to the experience of the pupil; but special care has been taken to make the text so clear that the general knowledge of the student will be naturally enlarged and thus the task of the teacher lightened. In fact, in the preparation of this volume for high school work, the author has constantly had in mind the needs of the teacher and the interest of those who may read and discuss it in the home.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL COMMENT AND SUGGESTIONS

OCCASIONAL references have been made in the text to the work of special writers. No chapter bibliography has, however, been attempted and no complete bibliography is here presented. Like the notes at the close of the chapter, what follows is in the nature of "sidelights and suggestions." In a text-book for secondary schools even an approximately complete bibliography is confusing to the pupil. On the other hand an approximately perfect selection is well-nigh impossible of attainment.

Sometimes the student may be easily encouraged to read a popular illustrated history of the United States such as those by Woodrow Wilson, and Garner and Lodge, or the more profusely illustrated volumes begun by Elroy McK. Avery; furthermore, special articles in such a compilation as *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* or certain selected volumes in a series may arouse an interest in historical readings. Again, it is scarcely to be expected that the pupil in the secondary school will make use of works such as those prepared by John Bach McMaster, James Ford Rhodes, or some of those edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, however valuable these may be to the special or advanced worker.

As a boy, the author enjoyed reading biographies and historical novels. He read and reread a now obsolete and ponderous History of the United States by Goodrich. He could scarcely recommend the last-named work, or any single production above others, but he would heartily commend historical novels and the later biographies of great Americans. Among the latter he would like to commend many interesting volumes; but selection involves discrimination, and, on any subject, the best work of to-day may be superseded by something still better to-morrow. To-day there may be serious need for an accurate or comprehensive work on

some phase of American history; to-morrow the need may be amply supplied. The author believes that matters of selection in reading and study outside the text should be left to the teacher and the special needs of the class or the occasion.

A partial list of authorities given below may prove suggestive or convenient to the teacher. General authorities: *The American Nation* (27 vols.), edited by A. B. Hart and prepared by a number of special writers, is one of the most comprehensive later histories; *The United States* (10 vols.), by Wiley and Rines, is useful on account of the publication of many original documents; reference has already been made to other general histories such as those by Avery and Wilson; to these may be added such older authorities as Hildreth, Baneroft, and Winsor. Besides a great number of State historians, some of whom have been referred to in the text, there have been special writers on colonial history, such as Fisher, Beer, Thwaites, Osgood, C. M. Andrews, Fiske, Lodge, Tyler, Alice M. Earle, Palfrey, Parkman, Drake, and many others.

The history of the United States under the constitution has been written by such general writers as McMaster, Henry Adams, Schouler, Hart, Channing, etc., constitutional questions have been treated by both Americans and Europeans, the latter including such discriminating and acute observers as de Tocqueville and Bryce. Special writers have illuminated the history of the United States navy; others, such as Roosevelt, Hinsdale, Thwaites, and Turner, have written specially upon the development of the western frontier; still others have engaged in the preparation of more accurate works on the development of the south. Upon the period involving the issues of secession and reconstruction, the list of writers is voluminous. In addition, the biographies of leading Americans are numerous, and many of the later ones are complete and accurate. Any publishing house will readily furnish lists of its biographical or historical publications; and the author will be glad to communicate with teacher or pupil who might desire further particulars as to bibliography or special source works, or to answer any queries that may arise in the reading of the preceding pages.

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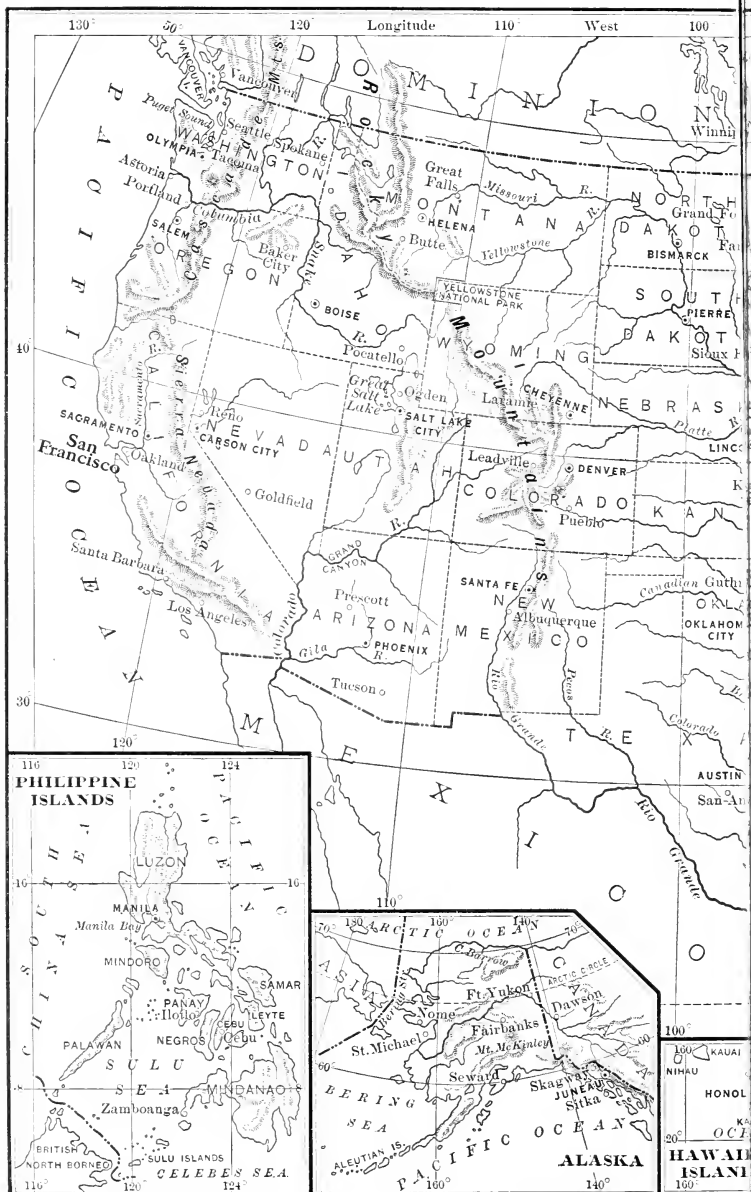
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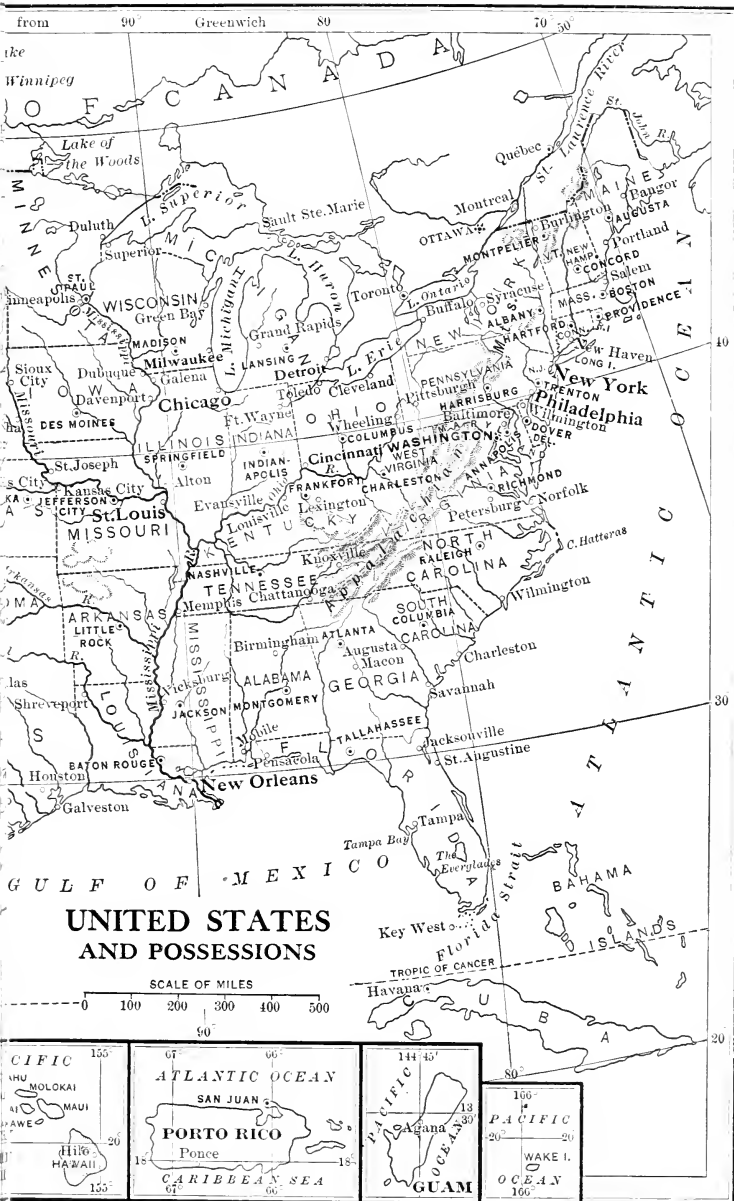
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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

1. Origin of the English Claim to the North American Continent.—The history of the United States may be said to have had its beginning on the fifth of March, 1496, when Henry VII granted to John Cabot a patent “to seeke out” other islands or countries across the Atlantic, where, four years earlier, land had been discovered by Columbus. Cabot’s ex-

Henry VII’s
patent to
John Cabot,
1496

plorations were to be conducted in the interest of the English, whereas Columbus had made his discoveries under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain.

Although Spain and Portugal, under the special sanction of the Pope, had already divided between themselves the whole of the New World, the shrewd English sovereign determined that England also should explore the unknown waters in the west. It was this action of Henry VII that laid the foundation for English claims and settlements in North America. Fortunately for such an outcome, it had happened that Columbus in his various voyages had not touched the shores of the North American continent, but up to this time had discovered only the islands to the southeast. These he had called the West Indies in the belief that they were somewhere off the coast of Asia. No one seems to have suspected that a new con-



COLUMBUS

From painting in the Marine Museum at Madrid

Discoveries
of Columbus

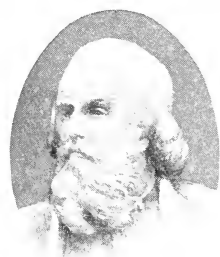
continent and another ocean lay between western Europe and the eastern shores of Asia.

With the hope, therefore, of finding a route to India, John Cabot set sail in May, 1497, in a small vessel, manned, it is said, by only eighteen men. Partly in order to keep at a good distance

Discovery of
the continent
of North
America by
Cabot, 1497

from the Spanish in the West Indies, who already had entered a vigorous protest at the English court against his proposed voyage, he directed his course almost in a straight line to the westward. After several weeks of

sailing, he came in sight of land somewhere off the coast of what is now southern Labrador. Disembarking here early in the summer



Avery's History

JOHN CABOT

From John Cassidy models,
Manchester, England

of 1497, he became thereby the first of the fifteenth-century explorers to set foot upon the shores of either continent of the New World. Here he set up the English flag and began an exploration in search of the "northwest passage to India." Finding the waters dangerous by reason of fields of floating ice, he turned homeward to tell the English of a great country to the west and north of the Spanish discoveries. Among other things, he told them of cod so plentiful in the waters that they impeded the progress of his vessel; and that it was necessary

"but to cast over a basket in which a stone had been put to draw up a great catch."

In England, Cabot was forthwith acclaimed as "the great admiral" and was granted special favors and privileges, although

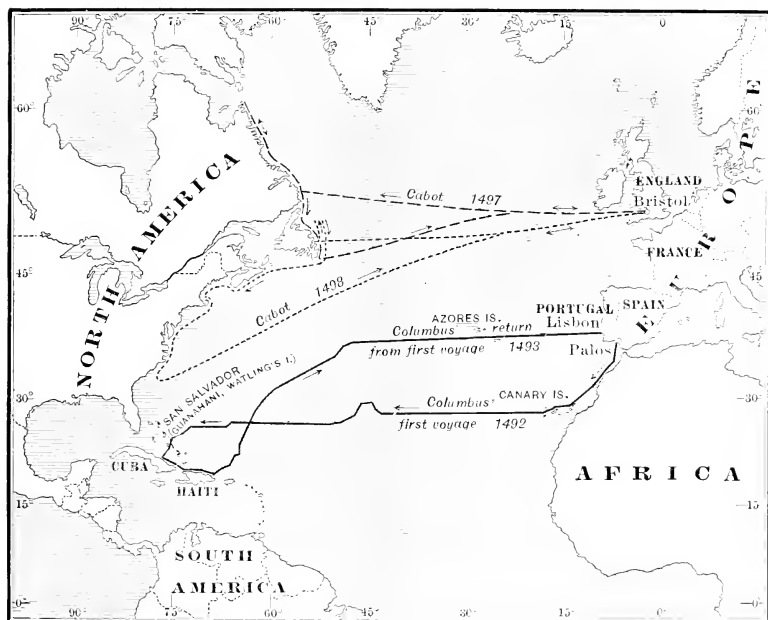
Results of
Cabot's first
voyage

his immediate reward in money is set down in the note book of the thrifty king: "To hym that founde the new Isle, £10." But the real importance of his discovery

lies in the fact that the English people came to feel that they had a share in the explorations of the New World, a fact which they never forgot and which led to their final control of North America.

This first voyage of John Cabot resulted in the fitting out of a new and larger expedition for exploration and discovery. Consequently, he was put in command of a little fleet of four or five vessels and granted a second royal patent of discovery under the English flag. Setting out in the spring of 1498, probably accompanied by his son Sebastian, he again set foot on the shores of the New World. This time he landed on the coast of Newfoundland, whence he turned northward a second time along the coast to seek the much-desired

Second voyage of John Cabot, 1498



MAP SHOWING FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS AND THE VOYAGES OF CABOT

northwest passage to India; but somewhere off the shores of Labrador, he again encountered perilous fields of ice and felt compelled to retrace his course to Newfoundland. From Newfoundland, he sailed southward for several weeks along the great and then unknown coast of the North American continent on a voyage

which has recently been called the "First American Coast Survey." It is not yet known just how far this survey or exploration extended, but it now seems probable that Cabot touched upon or passed by the shores of the present Atlantic seaboard States from Maine to Florida.¹

These discoveries of Cabot and the English in the north, unlike those of Columbus and the Spanish in the south, did not at once lead to settlement and colonization. Successive voyages by many seamen disclosed the fact that savage Indians dwelt in North America, and that there was not the immediate prospect of gaining fabulous wealth in mines of gold or silver. Perhaps it was fortunate that such was the case, for the English colonies that were finally established in North America were founded largely on principles of human rights, liberty, and individual freedom of endeavor; and the governments erected by them were in these respects far in advance of the old-world nations. Less hampered by ancient political customs, they reproduced and expanded English ideas under new conditions.

¹ We should like to know more about this bold explorer, John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto). It now seems well established that, like Columbus (Cristoforo Colombo), he was born in or near Genoa, that he later became a citizen of Venice, and that from there he went to England.

Other similarities in the lives of these two great explorers are also of interest: in their day both belonged to that group of advanced thinkers who maintained that the world was round and not, as generally believed, flat; they were both travelers, and both were endeavoring to discover a western route to India; although both came of a seafaring and commercial people, both were engaged in the service of a foreign country when they made their discoveries; both were brave and confident of their final success; and both were placed in command of skeptical crews inclined to mutiny or uprising.

Unlike Columbus, however, Cabot did not succeed in securing assistance to become the first to brave the terrors of the unknown western seas. They were alike again in that both had their enemies and traducers; but Columbus, for the most part, encountered his detractors in his lifetime, while Cabot was belittled after his death; moreover, it has now been ascertained that one of his three sons, Sebastian, was crafty and unscrupulous, and that he probably obscured his father's achievements in order to magnify his own.

Contrast between explorations in North and in South America

2. Spanish Explorations and Attempted Settlements in North America during the Sixteenth Century.—Between the time of Cabot's voyages and the beginnings of permanent English colonization, many important events took place in Europe, and numerous expeditions were sent out to explore the western seas. Up to the end of the fifteenth century the New World had not been named, unless we except the naming of the West Indies by Columbus. What Cabot may have called the North American continent we do not know.² But between 1499 and 1503 still another Italian, Amerigo Vespucci (Ah-ma-ree-go Ves-póot-chee), made a number of voyages to the south and west. Origin of the name "America" His account of these explorations was published in many languages and led to naming the new country after him. Hence the name "America," at first applied to the southern half, came in time to be used for both continental divisions of the New World.

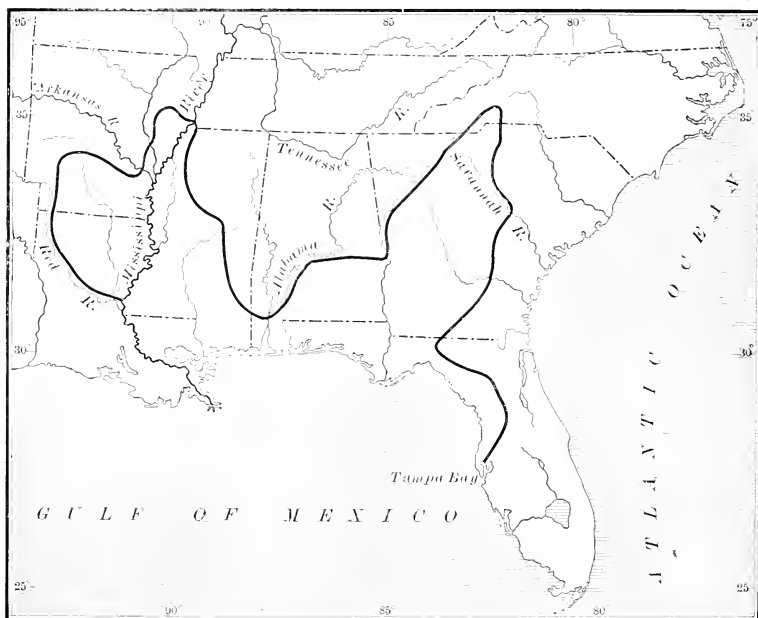
At the end of the present chapter of exploration and discovery, there is given a reference list of a number of explorers in the employ of the different maritime nations of Europe. Few of these attempted to establish colonies in North America, and the majority of them were European adventurers who sought immediate wealth in mines of gold and silver. Even De Soto, the boldest and most daring of them all, left no permanent impress upon the country which he traversed. However, because he penetrated farthest into the territory now embraced in the United States of America, the story of his expedition may be profitably compared and contrasted with the more enduring efforts of actual colonists.

While he was the Spanish Governor of Cuba, Hernando de Soto had heard tales of gold and silver mines in the interior of the North American continent that were similar to those already

² The name of Cabot has never been given a place upon the map of America. Cabot is the greatest of the pioneer seamen who is not so honored. Henry Harrisse, the compiler of voluminous reports from the original records of the earliest explorers, maintains that Cabot soon reached the conclusion that the new land was distinct from Asia. Cf. "The Discovery of North America," Book V, chapter 4.

exploited by his countrymen in the south. Impelled, therefore, by his desire for gain, he equipped an expedition consisting of several ships, six hundred men, and some two hundred horses. He landed on the coast of the present State of Florida in 1539 and marched inland, battling with hostile Indians from the start. Overcoming desperate odds of wilderness and warlike natives, he pursued an irregular course northward for five hundred miles (see map). Thence he turned and cut his way

Expedition of
De Soto,
1539-1542



MAP SHOWING DE SOTO'S ROUTE WESTWARD

in a southwesterly direction almost to the Gulf of Mexico, near the present site of Mobile. Not despairing, however, of finding the promised riches, he again marched inland to the north and west, until he had crossed the Father of Waters, as the Indians termed the Mississippi, and had penetrated far into the present State of Arkansas. At last the endurance and faith of his men

began to fail, and the expedition turned southward once more. On the return march De Soto died near the Mississippi River and was buried secretly in its waters. This was in May, 1542, after three years of continuous wandering in an almost trackless wilderness and through the midst of warlike Indian tribes. The rest of his band finally reached the mouth of the Mississippi in boats, and thence made their way to Mexico, which the Spaniards had conquered in 1521.

Such, briefly, is the story of a daring adventurer's search for gold, a search almost equaled in extent and danger by the expedition of De Vaca (Dā Váhcah) along the Gulf coast, and of Coronado in the west. Linked with these in the story of Spanish exploration is the expedition of the celebrated Ponce de Leon (Pón-thā dā Lá-ōne), who sought, in the wilds of the New World, the realization of the old-world dreams of the fountain of perpetual youth.

During this century (1501-1600), two Spanish expeditions and one English, the latter under command of Sir Francis Drake, first explored a portion of the Pacific coast. And it was during the latter part of the same century that the Spanish began to establish colonies within the lower limits of the present United States. The letters patent of discovery and settlement of Vasquez de Ayllon (Váhsketh dā Ileyone) are interesting in that they led to the temporary establishment of Spanish power far to the north of the other colonies of Spain. De Ayllon first sent out vessels from the West Indies to explore the Atlantic coast north of Florida in search of a shorter passage to Asia than that discovered (1522) by Magellan through the strait that bears his name. The James River and Chesapeake Bay were explored in vain for a passageway. One expedition landed on the coast of South Carolina, gave an entertainment to the natives, and then kidnapped all who came aboard the ship. This act was disavowed by De Ayllon, who set out in 1526 with six hundred men and a number of negro slaves to found a permanent Spanish colony. He landed on the coast either in

Attempted
settlement
by De Ayl-
lon, 1526

North Carolina or near the site of the later settlement of Jamestown, and built a town called San Miguel. The colony was not successful, and it was finally abandoned after three-fourths of the settlers had died from disease or Indian attacks.

Had De Ayllon been successful in establishing a permanent settlement, the whole course of American history must have been different. In that event, the London Company that founded Jamestown could not have landed their colonists without declaring war on Spain, which James I would have been loth to do; and English settlement must have been at first restricted to the region north of the Potomac.

Longfellow's attractive poem, "The Skeleton in Armor," will recall the stories of the legendary adventures of the Norsemen on the shores of the North American continent, nearly five hundred years before the landing of John Cabot in 1497. As will be recalled, Leif Ericson is the central figure of these legends of discovery. It is told in the sagas or Scandinavian stories of adventure that about the year 1000 he sailed from Norway to Iceland, and in continuing his voyage to Greenland, discovered this continent, whither he conducted a number of expeditions. One legend tells of the Norsemen having wintered their cattle free from snow, from which it might be inferred that at least one party of them attempted a settlement farther to the south. In these sagas there are also narrated such remarkable stories of wild scenes and adventures that it is impossible to separate myth and imagination from what may be fact or history. It must also be borne in mind that these stories were written some two or three hundred years after the voyages thus described were undertaken.

REFERENCE LIST OF PRINCIPAL EXPLORERS IN THE EMPLOY OF THE LEADING MARITIME NATIONS OF EUROPE, PRIOR TO PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA.

(E. English; S. Spanish; F. French; P. Portuguese. For pronunciation of names see index.)

1492. Columbus (S.) discovers the New World, landing in the West Indies, probably at San Salvador (Watling Island), on the morning of October 12 (21, New Style). Columbus made other voyages and reached the South American continent in 1498.

- 1497-1498. John Cabot (E.) discovers the Continent of North America. See text.
- 1500, 1501, 1502. Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real (P.), in three voyages, explore northeastern coast. Both brothers perished, but their expeditions greatly stimulated the early fishing off the northeastern coast.
1506. Denys (F.) discovers the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
1513. Ponce de Leon (S.) names Florida peninsula and seeks the fabled "Fountain of Youth."
1524. Verrazano (F.) explores the Atlantic coast.
1526. De Ayllon (S.) attempts settlement in North America. (See text, p. 7.)
- 1528-1536. Pamfilo de Narvaez and Cabeza de Vaca (S.) half-march and half-voyage along the southern coast from Florida to Mexico.
- 1534-1535. Cartier (F.) explores the St. Lawrence River.
- 1539-1542. De Soto (S.) sets out from Florida to explore the continent. (See text, p. 5.)
- 1540-1542. Coronado marches from Mexico through several of the present southwestern States in search of "populous and wealthy cities." His expedition reached a point as far northeast as Kansas.

Other discoveries and expeditions of special interest and importance in South America:

1513. Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean after crossing the Isthmus of Panama.
1518. Cortes begins the Spanish conquest of Mexico.
1519. Magellan sails through the strait that bears his name. (Magellan was killed in the Philippine Islands, but one vessel of his fleet was the first to circumnavigate the globe, returning to Spain in 1522.)
1543. Cabrillo (S.) explores the Pacific coast of North America.
1561. De Villafane (S.) claims Carolina for the King of Spain.
1576. Frobisher (E.) explores the northwestern waters of the Arctic Ocean in search of a passage to India.
1579. Drake (E.) explores the Pacific coast.

EUROPEAN DATES FOR REFERENCE

- 1485-1509. Reign of Henry VII (England).
- 1509-1547. Reign of Henry VIII (England).
- 1547-1553. Reign of Edward VI (England).
- 1553-1558. Reign of Mary (England).
- 1558-1603. Reign of Elizabeth (England).
- 1479-1516. Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella—to death of former—(Spain).
- 1492-1503. Pontificate of Pope Alexander VI.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Compare the use of the term "patent" as applied to Henry VII's grant of the privilege of exploration to John Cabot with the governmental "patent" issued to protect an inventor.

2. Imagine differences of development that might have ensued if Spain had maintained her claims to North America, or if Columbus had first landed on this coast.

3. Discuss the political power of the Pope in medieval history with particular reference to the division of the New World between Spain and Portugal.

4. Cabot's reward for the discovery of a new continent was scarcely a liberal one in any event, but money was worth a great deal more at that time. Do you think that Henry VII realized the value of Cabot's discovery?

5. Should Cabot's name be memorialized in the geography or history of North America? If you think it should, could you suggest any way of doing so?

6. Read over the list of explorers given at the end of Chapter I and see if you are particularly interested in any of them and would like to look them up in a larger history or in some special account.

7. Can you name any events of interest connected with the reigns of the sovereigns given on page 9?

CHAPTER II

EARLY SETTLEMENTS

3. Rival Claims of European Nations.—Although the Spanish and Portuguese had claimed the whole of the New World, the other European nations were not disposed to accept such a division without dispute. For example, Francis I, King of France, is said to have remarked sarcastically that if Father Adam had made a will to that effect, he (Francis) had not seen it. Henry VII, King of England, was less facetious but more practical. He said little, but sent out John Cabot, because he probably foresaw that actual discovery and the possession of the land was to be the final test of ownership by the European nations. The time was not yet ripe, however, for English colonization; and the Spanish, who, together with the Portuguese, had acquired control of South America, were first successful in establishing a colony in North America. This they founded in 1565 at St. Augustine, Florida, the oldest settlement within the present limits of the United States.¹

The Spanish
make first
permanent
settlement
in North
America,
1565

4. Sir Walter Raleigh Attempts English Settlement, 1585–1587.—In the meantime, both the English and the French were making profitable use of the great fishing banks off the northeastern shores of the continent, which had been discovered and described by John Cabot; but it was not until the reign of Elizabeth that Englishmen began more seriously to consider the permanent settlement of America. The leading spirit in these plans of colonization was the courtier, soldier, sailor, statesman, and author,

¹ A colony of French Huguenots had established a garrison north of Florida (within the limits of the present State of South Carolina) in 1562. This was abandoned; but another colony was founded in Florida in 1564, which in turn was destroyed by the Spaniards in 1565, the year of the founding of St. Augustine. The Spanish also founded Santa Fé, New Mexico, in 1582.

Sir Walter Raleigh, whose career makes a most interesting page in English history. He hoped "to plant an English nation" in America, and in 1584 he secured permission from Queen Elizabeth to make settlements upon territory not then occupied by a Chris-

tian nation. Consequently, with his customary energy, he set about equipping expeditions for the colonization of the North American continent, whose entire length

Elizabeth called Virginia, in honor of herself as the virgin queen.

He first sent out an exploring party, by whom a site was selected upon the coast of what is now North Carolina; and in

1585 the first colonists landed on Roanoke Island.

These, however, fared so badly in the new land that they were glad to return to England with Captain Drake in 1586.

Not discouraged by this failure, Raleigh sent out a stronger colony in 1587. This might have com-

menced in North America the continuous history of English colonization had it not been for the beginning at that time of the momentous struggle with Spain which resulted in the complete defeat of the "Invincible Armada." When Raleigh again had an opportunity in 1590 to turn his attention to his American venture, his second colony had disappeared.²

Meanwhile Raleigh had exhausted his fortune in trying to establish the English in America; and, in addition, he had in-

curred the disfavor of James I, who succeeded to the English



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

² It is not known what became of these settlers, although it is conjectured that they were either carried off by, or voluntarily absorbed in, a tribe of Indians. On August 18, 1587, a granddaughter was born to John White, first governor of the colony. Her name was Virginia Dare and she was the first child of English parentage born in America. Thomas Hariot, the inventor of the mathematical signs, +, -, $\sqrt{\quad}$, etc., accompanied the first expedition, and returned in safety to England "to prepare these and other algebraic horrors."

throne in 1603. Nevertheless, he had again set the minds of Englishmen upon American colonization, which was to be carried to a successful conclusion through the formation of powerful stock companies.³

Results of
Raleigh's ef-
forts

In England, at this time, there was an excess of population and much distress among the people on account of the fact that many landowners had abandoned general farming for sheep-raising, which required less labor. The necessity of providing for the people thus thrown out of employment led to redoubled activity in the plans of colonization. Preachers began to declare from their pulpits that God had opened a door for England in Virginia. These considerations led to the higher desire of finding permanent homes for Englishmen, rather than immediate wealth through the indiscriminate plundering of heathen natives.

5. Colonizing Companies Formed in England.—In 1606 two great colonizing companies were organized, one at London and the other at Plymouth. To the London Company the king granted a place for settlement on the North American coast from latitude 34° to 41°, or from about Cape Fear to the mouth of the Hudson River. To the Plymouth Company he granted settlement rights on the coast from latitude 38° to 45°, or from the Rappahannock River to northern Maine. These patents overlapped each other, with the understanding that the company first settling upon the intermediate territory was to control it. At the same time, however, it was provided that neither colony was to establish a settlement within 100 miles of one already established by the other.

Formation of
London and
Plymouth
companies

Raleigh had secured a promise of a full measure of English liberty for the ill-fated colonists on Roanoke Island, and some of his ideas were embodied in the provisions of the charters granted

³ The early English failures on the coast of North Carolina were followed, before the formation of the London and Plymouth Companies, by a similar lack of success in the north. In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold attempted a settlement at Buzzard's Bay, Massachusetts, but the courage of the colonists gave out and they returned to England with a shipload of sassafras and lumber.

to both the new colonization companies, to the effect that the settlers were to enjoy all the political and civil rights and privileges that belonged to free Englishmen at home. Both corporations moved promptly in sending out expeditions. The colony sent out by the Plymouth Company failed, however (1607-1608); and it was not until 1620, under wholly different direction, that any permanent settlement was made in the northern territory.

6. First Permanent English Colony in America, 1607.—The London Company, on the other hand, succeeded in establishing the first permanent English settlement in the New World. On December 30, 1606,⁴ the *Sarah Constant* (100 tons), the *Good-speed* (40 tons), and the *Discovery* (20 tons), sailed down the Thames for America. On board was a small company of 105 emigrants prepared to make a home in an unknown wilderness. They knew that the natives were likely to prove hostile; and, what was worse, that the Spaniards, although not actively at war with England, would gladly seize the first opportunity to put a violent end to the settlement. They knew, also, that both Spaniards and Englishmen had been attacked by the Indians in Virginia, and that a French colony had been destroyed by the Spaniards, who had proclaimed that other European nations attempting to colonize in North America would be regarded as intruders in their domains.

No public demonstrations of godspeed and good wishes were given to the little band of departing emigrants. Their departure had to be made as secretly as possible, for Spanish ambassadors had vehemently protested against the establishment of British colonies in any part of America, and James I was fearful of open war. Many times, indeed, in the next few years, the emissaries of Philip III called upon their sovereign to "give orders to have

⁴ Dates are given in modern or new style whenever such reckoning does not interfere with a well-established custom. It would be most unusual, for instance, to give the date of Columbus's landfall as October 21 (N. S.); as, on the other hand, it would be contrary to established custom to give George Washington's birthday as February 11 (O. S.).

Difficulties
and dangers
of the under-
taking

these insolent people annihilated before they became too strong."⁵ Michael Drayton, however, the English patriot-poet, bade the colonists go forth

And in regions farre,
Such heroes bring yee forth
As those from whom we came

As if all this uncertainty of success and well-known foreign hostility were not sufficiently disheartening to those who would venture their lives or their fortunes in the English colonization of the New World, it must be recalled that the Great Plague of



LANDING AT JAMESTOWN, 1607

the seventeenth century had been raging in London, to the great distress of the people and the demoralization of business. In those days yellow fever was frequently contracted in the tropical islands that were stopping places on the voyage across the Atlantic; and the settlers were destined to encounter the even more terrible

⁵ The Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, while unable to persuade Philip to declare war, was successful in cunningly arraying King James against the London Company, to the great injury of the latter.

malarial fever of the swamp lands on the coast, for which no remedies had then been discovered. Certainly the difficulties clearly seen by the colonists were enough to deter the boldest; yet they resolved to set out in the face of these and of other perils, none the less terrible because they were less well known.

After a voyage occupying four months and more, the little fleet arrived, not at Roanoke Island as intended, but at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Entering the bay, the colonists called the headlands on either side Cape Henry and Cape Charles in honor of the royal princes, while the river they first explored was named the James in honor of the king. Here, on May 24, 1607, on a low-lying peninsula about 30 miles from the mouth of the river, was begun the first permanent English settlement in the New World, which the colonists called Jamestown.⁶ Rough log houses were at once constructed and a fort begun for protection against the Indians, some of whom had attacked the settlers on their first landing at the mouth of the Chesapeake. Wheat was promptly planted, clapboards were cut, and sassafras roots were dug for shipment to England. Accompanying the colonists was the Reverend Robert Hunt, a minister of the English Church, who conducted the first religious services of the settlement under a sail spread beneath the trees.

Up to the time of their landing, the colonists did not know who had been appointed to be their governor, for the sealed instructions of the king were not to be opened until they had arrived in Virginia.⁷ The governor thus appointed

⁶ Such of the original records as have been preserved seem to indicate that the date of actual landing was the 14th (O.S.) instead of the 13th, as historians have generally given it. The Jamestown peninsula, an island then at high tide, is wholly an island now.

⁷ Among the many details of procedure laid down for the guidance of the settlers, it is amusing to note that King James gave instructions that in case it was necessary to "fire their pieces" in the presence of the natives, they should be sure to select only their best marksmen, "for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible and thereby will be bold to assault you."

proved to be Captain Edward-Maria Wingfield. Whether this choice was wise or not, the governor and his council had a difficult and perilous task before them; for, in the first few months, disease swept away half of the colony. In addition, the colonists were hampered by a prearranged plan of having all alike contribute to and draw from a common store. This arrangement tended to make the lazy or indifferent live at the expense of the more industrious.

Nevertheless, in the midst of this suffering and death, which the crude remedies of those days were powerless to prevent, the colonists found time to write to their friends at home of the "tall and goodly trees," of the astounding plentifulness of wild game, of flocks of "pidgeons" that in flying past obscured the sky, of the abundance of fish and oysters, of the wonderful breadth of water "farre into the land" which, they said, was "faire" to look upon and very fertile. Moreover, records have been left to show that the settlers were active in carrying out the instructions of the London Council in searching for precious metals and in exploring the navigable rivers for the much desired passage to the Indian Ocean.

The beauty of the country and the abundance of game

One of the most active of these explorers was Captain John Smith. Smith was a soldier of fortune who had traveled over much of the Old World. He has left us tales of marvelous escapes from Turks, Hungarians, and Barbary pirates, many of which stories are now known to have been not so much stories of his actual adventures as the inventions of a lively imagination. And, as we now believe that a great part of what he tells is untrue, we cannot fully trust his unsupported testimony on any matter. Especially is this the case when his narrative discredits his associates and the London Company, in favor of himself and of King James's plan for absolute royal control of the affairs of the settlement.⁸

Captain John Smith's connection with the colony

⁸ Smith landed in America under arrest subsequent to a mutiny on board ship, which he was accused of inciting. After his release, he was constantly in difficulties with the rest of the council, of which he was at times a member, and for a period president, by reason of a rule of succession provided for by the

In the autumn of 1607, Smith and a small exploring party of colonists were ambushed and captured by the Indians. From this episode has sprung a romantic story which may or may not be true. As told by Smith in his later account, he was brought before the great Indian chief Powhatan and condemned to death. When his head was placed upon the block, Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of Powhatan, threw herself between him and the executioners and successfully pleaded for his life; whereupon Smith was released from captivity and allowed to return to Jamestown.

During the following spring, after a severe winter, Captain Christopher Newport arrived with additional settlers. One of these new colonists was Anne Burras. Her marriage in the summer of 1608 to John Laydon was the first English marriage ceremony performed in the New World. The first child of this union was christened Virginia, which was the name given to the daughter of Eleanor Dare at Roanoke Island over twenty years before.

In 1608 Captain Smith, in accordance with King James's prescribed order of succession, became president of the Virginia Council. He refused to appoint new councillors and permitted no criticism of his management during this period. In the spring of 1609 more colonists arrived, and a new settlement was established near the present site of Richmond. Troubles occurred with the Indians, and Smith was later injured by the accidental explosion of a bag of gunpowder. He then returned to England, and George Percy became his successor as president.

king. For a long time the story as told by Captain Smith in his accounts of the settlement was accepted as almost the sole authority for our early history; but in recent years careful investigators have found clear evidence to shew that he left a narrative not only untruthfully favorable to himself but distinctly unfair to his fellow-colonists, from which their deeds and memories have unjustly suffered up to the present time. Moreover, he was later in a position personally to profit by writing discreditable reports of the first colony of Virginia.

The new settlers were not acclimated to the malarial fever of the warmer months, nor were any of them prepared for the exposure of the winter that followed, which was the most severe the colony had yet experienced. Help had been promised from England, but the vessels bearing the supplies and colonists under Sir Thomas Gates had been wrecked in the Bermudas. When these new colonists finally arrived in May, 1610, in vessels they had themselves constructed in the West Indies, they found but sixty of the settlers left alive. Dismayed by this and by the lack of supplies, all determined to abandon Jamestown and set sail for England. Fortunately for English hopes, however, they were met a few miles down the river by three ships well supplied with provisions. Lord Delaware, the newly appointed governor of Virginia, was in command, and all returned to Jamestown, where the fort and the houses had happily been left standing. Delaware fell upon his knees and thanked God that he had saved English settlement in America.

The colony
saved by
Lord Dela-
ware, 1610

As before stated, of all the colonists that had come over in the preceding years but sixty were now alive. Only the fittest had survived. In the struggle against malarial fever, each group of immigrants had to become acclimated, or hardened to the new conditions. Quinine was then unknown, and for many years the mortality among the settlers seems almost incredible and more than enough to deter the boldest from ever attempting to brave the unaccustomed climate. Lord Delaware himself became dangerously ill not long after his arrival, and in 1611 he returned to England. He was succeeded by Thomas Dale,⁹ an industrious and painstaking, though tyrannical, soldier, whose efforts for the benefit of the colony were aided by important events in England.

7. Growth and Expansion of the Jamestown Colony.—In London, at this time, the management of colonial affairs was passing into the hands of a council of some of the ablest and best men of the kingdom. Nearly all classes of the people were repre-

⁹ Dale was technically only a deputy official.

sented. A new charter was granted the company, and the boundaries of its territory changed to embrace two hundred miles to the north and to the south of Old Point Comfort "up into the land throughout from sea to sea west and northwest." Furthermore, many of the prerogatives of government which had formerly been assumed by the king were now taken over by the company. Thus its members were in a position to grant a large measure of civil liberty and local self-government to the colonies.¹⁰

Hence it may be stated that, with the exception of the setbacks occasioned later by sudden and disastrous Indian massacres,



THE MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS TO JOHN ROLFE AT JAMESTOWN

the colony was well started toward a steady growth under the direction of a sturdy band of Anglo-American pioneers. Governor Dale's rule was severely rigid, but he administered his office for a term of five years with general success. Hours of regular work, worship, and administration were established. Each man was given a plot of land to cultivate, and the communal system set up under the first council was

Communal
system aban-
doned, 1611

¹⁰ This charter was modified in 1612 to extend the powers of the Council, or, at least, to state them more specifically. It also included the Bermudas as a part of Virginia.

definitely abandoned. Settlements were extended, each with its stockade of defense, and a prosperous tobacco culture was begun under the leadership of John Rolfe. Rolfe had suffered shipwreck in the Bermudas, where his first wife and child died. He fell in love with Pocahontas, then held as a prisoner or hostage by the colonists; and, after her Christian baptism, he was married to her in the English church at Jamestown.¹¹

Marriage of
Pocahontas

8. Self-government in Virginia.—Governor Dale's successor was Sir George Yeardley, who was a resident of the colony and therefore doubly interested in its development. Assisting him in his efforts to secure desirable settlers with families, the London Company succeeded in encouraging a substantial emigration to Virginia. A liberal measure of self-government was allowed to the colonists by the company, insomuch that it aroused the jealousy and hostility of King James. Political articles were now written, attacking, directly or indirectly, the character and motives of both the company and the colony; and it is to the latter class of document that a part of Captain Smith's "Generall Historie" is now seen to belong. Moreover, James I, believing, as did the Stuart sovereigns, in the divine right of kings, was as violently opposed to Sir Edwin Sandys, the moving spirit of this democratic view of government, as was Charles I to Hampden a few years later.

Jealousy of
James I

These liberal instructions of the London Council led to the calling together in Virginia of the first representative legislative assembly in the New World, and marked the beginning of that love of self-government in America that was later to find expression in the fiery eloquence of Patrick Henry and the determined opposition of Samuel Adams and the patriots of thirteen separate colonies. This first American Assem-

First legisla-
tive assembly,
1619

¹¹ Rolfe and the "Princess" Pocahontas visited England, where Pocahontas was made much of by court and people. Pocahontas died in England, but her husband and little son returned to Virginia.

bly met at Jamestown, August 9, 1619, after the election of two delegates each from eleven plantations or parishes.

Among the early acts of this assembly was the embodying of a resolution to the effect that, as the London Company insisted on approving the laws of the Virginia Assembly, the Virginia Assembly should also pass upon the directions of the London Company. This foreshadowed the colonists' later resistance to the acts of the English Parliament when it later took upon itself the authority once exercised by the king.

Another act of this assembly was in the nature of a petition to the London Company to send over carpenters to help build the

College of Henrico, for which provision had already been made, and which became the first school in the New World.¹² Laws were also enacted imposing pen-

alties for drunkenness and swearing, the latter being assessed at the equivalent of \$5 to \$10 for each offense. The wearing of fine apparel was also discouraged by an act compelling the wearer to give up his extraordinary raiment or to support the church in proportion to his display.

The colony had outgrown its original bounds at Jamestown, and labor was needed for the development of the scattered but

steadily increasing farmlands. Indentured servants were now introduced. These were bound out to service

for a certain number of years and thereafter given their freedom. They were, in some cases, unfortunates out of employment at home, or failures in business oppressed by the extremely harsh laws of those days; or they were, in other cases, vagabonds and

¹² This school was endowed by English and colonial contributors primarily for the education of the Indians in letters and Christianity, but the Indians themselves destroyed it in the general massacre of 1622. Here the first literature of the New World was produced by George Sandys, treasurer of Virginia, and a nephew of Sir Edwin Sandys. It consisted of an excellent poetical translation of a portion of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the first edition of which was "imprinted" in London in 1626. A large sum of money was also collected for the establishment of a free school in the corporation of Charles City; but plans for this school were likewise cut short by the Indian massacre.

public charges. After their term of service had expired, some would buy small places for themselves, while others made their way, in time, to the mountain districts.

In 1619 negroes were brought to Virginia from the West Indies. These were apparently not regarded as slaves, but were bound out to service after the manner of the indentured white servants. As in the case of the latter their services were sold, but not their persons, under conditions that became general in the English colonies, which depended largely on such bond service for labor. The negro laborers were welcomed in the colony because it was known that they were accustomed to the heat of a southern climate and that they were generally immune to the malaria which had proved fatal to such a large proportion of Englishmen. Some of these negroes, at least, and possibly all of them, gained their freedom after varying periods of bond service.¹³

Importation
of the first
negroes,
1619

¹³ Since this statement is at variance with the long-accepted assertion that slavery began in the English colonies at this time, some further explanation may be considered necessary. The foundation for that assertion lay in the use of the word "sold" attributed to John Rolfe, who (according to Captain John Smith) wrote that a "Dutch Man of Warre sold us twenty Negars" in August, 1619. But recent researches, chiefly under the auspices of the Department of History of the Johns Hopkins University, show that these negroes were received into the colony as indentured servants. The early court records indicate that slavery was a later development arising naturally, in the case of an inferior race, from the bond service of the first importations. In 1619 slavery was not recognized in English law or in the laws and customs of Virginia; and although previously referred to in Virginia court records as in existence, slavery was not regulated by statute law until 1661, several years subsequent to such sanction in Massachusetts (1641) and Connecticut (1650), and prior to such recognition in Maryland (1663) and the other colonies. The "Dutch Man of Warre" was probably one of the English ships engaged in preying upon Spanish commerce. For the greater part of this new and interesting information upon this subject, the author is indebted to the researches of Dr. J. C. Ballagh, formerly of the Johns Hopkins University, and to Dr. John H. Russell, of Allegheny College. (See Ballagh: "A History of Slavery in Virginia," and Russell: "The Free Negro in Virginia," 1913.)

REFERENCE LIST OF EARLY ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA TO 1607 (JAMESTOWN)

(S. Spanish; F. French; E. English)

- 1540-1543. Cartier and Roberval (F.): Canada.
 1583. Sir Humphrey Gilbert (E.): Newfoundland.
 1562-1565. Ribault (F.): South Carolina. See p. 11, footnote.
 1585-1587. Raleigh (E.): North Carolina. See p. 11.
 1602. Gosnold (E.): Massachusetts. See p. 13, footnote.
 1607-1608. Popham Colony (E.): Maine. See p. 14.

EARLIEST SUCCESSFUL SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA

1565. St. Augustine (S.). See p. 11.
 1582. Santa Fé (S.). See p. 11, footnote.
 1604. Port Royal (F.), Nova Scotia, 1604; abandoned 1607, but resumed in 1610.
 1607. Jamestown, Virginia (E.). See text.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What Spanish settlement had been attempted in North America before that at St. Augustine? (See p. 7.)

2. The text refers to Sir Walter Raleigh as "courtier, soldier, sailor, statesman, and author." Which one of Sir Walter Scott's novels refers particularly to Raleigh? Any English history or encyclopædia will tell you more about him. As a rule, he spelled his name *Ralegh*, especially after 1585; but custom has sanctioned the better known spelling as given above.

3. Perhaps you would enjoy writing, for your English composition class, an imaginative story of the lost colony of Roanoke. Perhaps Powhatan and Pocahontas had heard of Virginia Dare and what had become of her.

4. Compare the voyage of the *Sarah Constant*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery* with that of a modern steamship. Try to remember the names of the vessels that brought over to the New World the first permanent English colony.

5. We should like to know more about Wingfield, Captain Gabriel Archer, George Percy, Ratcliffe, and the other leaders of the Jamestown settlement. Smith says little about them except in a slighting manner and in order to magnify the narrative of his own achievements.

6. After the lapse of nearly three centuries, one of the boy soldiers serving in the War of Secession (Alexander Brown) lived to find out more than any one else had found out about the Jamestown colony. Perhaps some student of this history will some day add a great deal to Mr. Brown's discoveries.

7. It may be asked how it happened that the London Company's emigrants spent Christmas Day on board ship when the text states that they embarked on December 30. This is explained by the fact that, under the Old Style reckoning, they started December 20. In reckoning time, the variation between the seventeenth century and the present amounts to ten days.

ENGLISH DATES OF INTEREST

1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

1603. Elizabeth is succeeded by James I; Union of England and Scotland.

1609. Independence of the Netherlands conceded by Philip III of Spain.

1609. Expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

CHAPTER III

BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND

9. Attempts at Settlement.—In the preceding chapter mention was made of the formation in 1606 of the London and the Plymouth companies. The latter purposed establishing what was called the “Second Colony of Virginia.” The promoters of this Second Colony equipped an expedition which began a settlement on the Kennebec River in the summer of 1607, but it suffered severely from exposure in the winter that followed their landing. Consequently, the colonists abandoned the settlement and returned to England in 1608. They declared that no Englishman could live in that part of the New World.

The report of these colonists was discouraging to settlement in the region assigned to the Plymouth Company. Captain John Smith, however, explored the northern coast in 1614, and gave to that part of the coast the name it has since retained—New England. Smith wrote an alluring description of the country in order to attract settlers to that region. In this he was unsuccessful, for settlement was to be made some years later on different lines from those that would have been laid out by Captain Smith or by the early supporters of the Plymouth Company.

10. Religious Unrest.—In England at this time there had arisen a large body of people who declared that the changes made in the religious observances during the sixteenth century had not gone far enough. They were dissatisfied with the forms and ritual of the English Church and wished to simplify its services or to withdraw from the church. But the English Church was established by law and associated with the government. Few, if any, of the people had as yet thought of such a thing as religious liberty

in the sense that any one might hold or teach such religious views as he thought proper. Those who wished to simplify the government and ceremonies of the Anglican Church, and thus "purify" it, were called Puritans. Those who thought a new church should be established were called Separatists or Separatists and Puritans Independents. These Separatists, followed later by the Puritans, were destined to begin the settlement of New England, and to lay the foundations of several comparatively small but concentrated and powerful communities.

11. Separatists or "Pilgrims" Emigrate to Holland.—In 1608 a number of Separatists had fled from religious persecutions to Holland. In Holland, the Pilgrims, as they came to be called, were able to enjoy a greater measure of religious freedom than they could have secured under any other government at that time; but they felt that they were in a foreign country and that their children would gradually drop their English speech and would take up the language, religion, and customs of the Dutch.

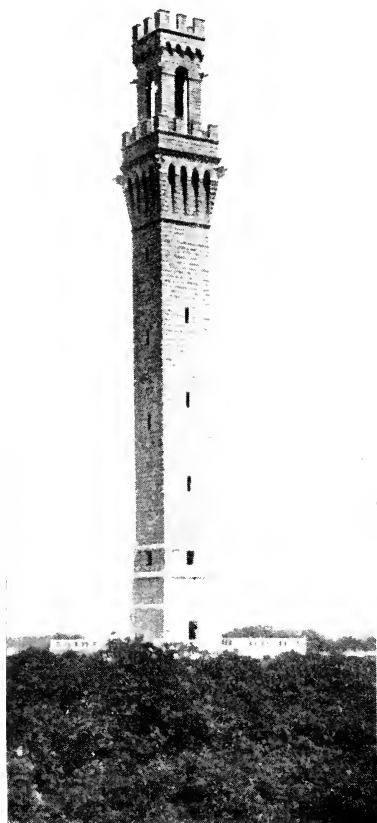
Accordingly, these resolute people began to consider their removal to the shores of America. First they succeeded in getting from the liberal London Company a large tract of land between the Delaware and Hudson rivers. Sir Edwin Pilgrims plan emigration to America Sandys, the great patron of American colonization, drew up a provisional plan of government for them. But Sandys and the London Company had incurred royal disfavor, the Pilgrims' means had given out, so that, after unsuccessful overtures to the Dutch, they finally accepted the hard terms of some English merchants, who agreed to provide transportation and early maintenance for the equivalent of seven years' bond service and division of profits. King James would grant the colonists no charter, but in this respect the outcome seems to show that they were better off without one from such a ruler.

12. Pilgrims Set out for America.—Consequently, preparations were forthwith begun in Holland for the departure of some of the Pilgrims in the *Speedwell*. These set out in July, 1620, and were met at Southampton, England, by another body of Separa-

tists in the *Mayflower*. After several trying delays, both vessels set sail for America; but the captain of the *Speedwell* (60 tons burden) alleged that the smaller vessel was unseaworthy. Both

the ships then put in at Plymouth, and the *Mayflower* (180 tons) set out alone for the New World. On board were the crew and 102 passengers, "some of whom," ran Bradford's chronicle, "were not tempered altogether to godliness," but "shuffled in upon us." Thirty-seven of these passengers were of the Separatist colony in Holland, where was left the majority with their excellent pastor, John Robinson; while the emigrants were under the spiritual leadership of William Brewster.

13. The Pilgrim Settlement in New England. — After a tempestuous voyage the colonists reached the shores of America, not within the limits of the grant of the London Company, as they had intended, but at Cape Cod, in New England. At first they started southward along the coast to the land their patent indicated (New Jersey), but this was deemed impracticable.



PILGRIM MONUMENT AT PROVINCETOWN, MASS.,
OVERLOOKING FIRST ANCHORING PLACE
OF THE MAYFLOWER

Hence, in the latter part of November, the Pilgrims held a meeting on board the *Mayflower* and drew up a solemn "compact"

and plan of self-government that is remarkable both for its simplicity and comprehensiveness. They agreed to make such laws as were needful for the good of the colony and all agreed to be bound by them. John Carver was chosen as the first governor.

After exploring the coast for a convenient harbor, the colonists selected Plymouth¹ as the place for permanent settlement. Here they landed on the 21st of December, 1620, and began the construction of shelter from the pitiless cold and storms of the winter. As at Jamestown, the following spring found more than half of the colonists dead from exposure and disease. Among these was Governor Carver. Apparently not a whit discouraged, the colonists elected William Bradford governor and prepared to build more houses. Other leaders were the soldiers, Myles Standish and William Brewster.

Landing of
the Pilgrims,
1620

It was perhaps fortunate for the colonists that, prior to their landing, a plague had cut off a large number of the Indians. With those that remained, however, a treaty was made in 1621 which remained unbroken for half a century. These neighboring Indians were the Wampanoags, whose chief was Massasoit. Canonicus, however, chief of the Narragansett Indians to the west, sent the settlers a bundle of arrows tied in a snake skin. Bradford immediately returned the skin filled with powder and shot. This the Indians knew was the white man's "thunder and lightning," and Governor Bradford's bold and ready reply convinced Canonicus that peace was the better policy.

In the first few years the Pilgrim colony grew but slowly. The returns from agriculture were particularly uncertain; for the settlers, like those at Jamestown, suffered from the ill workings of a system for holding products and property in common. But in the spring of 1623 each family planted for itself, and all, "even the women and children," set about to till the crops, which in that year were abundant. So successful were the settlers that they soon began to supply the

Communal
system
abandoned,
1623

¹ So named by Captain John Smith in his map of the New England coast.

Indians with their own maize or corn in return for furs and products of the chase.

Continued trouble with the English supporters of the colony held back the greater part of the Separatist congregation in Holland, as money could not be had for transportation. The establishment, however, a few years later, of the Puritan colony at Massachusetts Bay greatly helped the Plymouth settlement, for in ten years thereafter it had multiplied tenfold and numbered three thousand souls.

14. Emigration of the Puritans.—Before taking up the history of the Massachusetts Bay settlement, it is necessary to refer again to events in England. In 1625 Charles I came to the throne and, in addition to an inherited opposition to the Puritans, he had a special objection to parliaments as a check upon royal power. A large part of those who opposed his views in church and state were the Puritans, who in a political sense, at least, were gaining supporters daily through the high-handed policy of the king.

Encouraged by the example of the Separatists and by the success of the other settlements in the New World, they set about forming plans for colonization in New England. The first Puritan settlers to emigrate were a small body under John Endicott, who established a colony at Naumkeag in 1628, which they called Salem. At this time a number of prominent Puritans bought from the Plymouth Company a tract of land between the Charles and Merrimac rivers, which extended westward without limit.

15. Puritan Self-government.—After Charles's dissolution of Parliament in 1629, a charter was secured from him to incorporate a company called the Massachusetts Bay Company. Whatever may have been Charles I's errors of government in England, he should in this matter receive some credit, because the charter he granted the Massachusetts Bay Company was a liberal one, securing to the colony a remarkably large measure of self-direction. The settlers were given the right to elect their own governor and council, the latter being free to make the laws of the colony, provided such laws did not conflict with those of England. The

John Endicott and the first Puritan colony, 1628

council was to be elected annually. The place, however, where the corporation meetings were to be held was not indicated in the charter. Taking advantage of this, the company decided to take the charter over to New England, where they would be less likely to be interfered with in their plans of government.² In 1630 eleven ships, bearing nearly 1000 persons, under the leadership of John Winthrop, arrived at Salem; and during that year many new settlements were begun, including Boston, at first called Trimountain or Tremont because of the triple crown of its principal hill.

The first
great in-
crease in
numbers.
1630

It has been asserted by some authorities on New England history that the Pilgrims were the precursors of religious liberty, and it is probable that if the Pilgrims had been left to work out their own development they might have become the actual founders of religious freedom. They were, however, absorbed or controlled by the Puritans. The latter were quite as intolerant of those who differed from them as the authorities in England of whom they had complained. In New England they declared themselves independent of the English church, and one of their first acts was boldly to send back to England such persons of the Anglican faith as had come over with them, two of whom they publicly accused of conspiracy to establish the Church of England in the Puritan colony.³

Religious
tolerance of
Pilgrims



JOHN WINTHROP

² It should be recalled here that the London Company had been seriously handicapped by King James, and it was finally dissolved in 1624. Perhaps the Massachusetts Bay Company, in removing their charter to New England, profited by the experience of the London Company. In addition, King Charles was doubtless glad to get this body of Puritans out of his way.

³ It should be remembered that in Virginia Episcopalians did not allow religious liberty to those who differed from them. A Puritan there was not welcome; the Virginia government was merely not so violent in its acts of exclusion. It remained for Maryland (1634) and Rhode Island (1636) to lead the colonies in the matter of religious toleration.

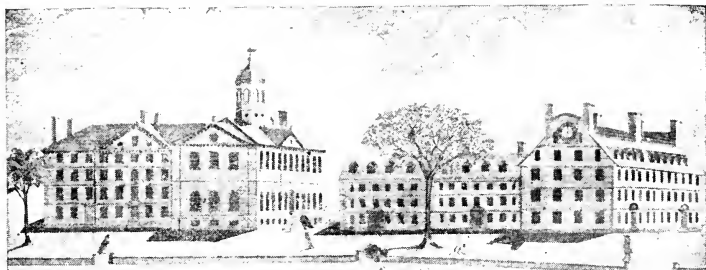
All persons in the various settlements were compelled to attend religious services. The church buildings were bare and without stoves, the members of the congregation bringing with them heated stones or hand stoves. The congregation was separated within the building. The boys sat on the pulpit stairs and in the gallery under the stern eye of the constable, who rapped them sharply over the head if they went to sleep during the sermon, which was generally from three to four hours long. The girls and young women had special seats assigned to them, and, if they were found napping during the services, their faces were tickled by the tail of a rabbit fastened on the other end of the constable's stick used in rapping the boys. No one was permitted to work or to amuse himself in any manner on Sunday, which at one time was strictly observed for a day and a half. Punishments for infractions of these rules were severe and consisted in fines, whipping, or public exposure in the stocks.⁴

The minister of each parish was elected by the members of the congregation, which body was the same as that which transacted the business of the community. In the latter case it was called a town meeting; for the Puritans, like the Pilgrims, were determined upon self-government from the beginning. Participation in the government was, however, limited to members of the Puritan church or congregation. All others were for many years excluded from voting or from the full privileges of citizenship.

16. Education.—Nevertheless, in the midst of this narrowing constraint, the Puritan Fathers planned a system of education which was eventually to broaden the views of their children and to enable them to exert great influence in spheres far beyond their own communities. Thus it was that, among the earliest acts of

⁴ The laws of the other colonies were much more lenient, in both political and religious matters. Governor Dale's administration in Virginia furnished, however, an exception, and during his term of office (1611-1616) one of his articles of government provided for the punishment of swearing by having a bodkin thrust through the offender's tongue for the second offense and death for the third.

the Puritans, preparations were made for an extended scheme of secular and religious education. In 1636 a college was planned at Newtown, which, two years later, received a bequest in the will of John Harvard. The town was called Cambridge, while the college was named after the donor of its first endowment. Harvard College grew into Harvard University, the oldest institution of learning in this country.



OLD HARVARD COLLEGE (from etching by Paul Revere)

Although the first English literature of the New World had been produced at Jamestown by George Sandys, the first printing press was set up at Cambridge in 1639, and in 1640 there was printed on it the Bay Psalm Book, the first English book published in America, and from this time on New England led the middle and southern colonies in printing and publishing.

First printing
press in the
colonies, 1639

17. Early Contentions of the Puritans at Home and with the Mother Country.—The colonists of New England had enemies to contend with both at home and abroad. At home they created hostility to themselves by the persecution of those who differed with them, although it must be remembered that in those days such persecution was held to be right and proper. In addition to this warfare against the “ungodly” or “seditious” among themselves, they stoutly prepared, on at least one occasion, for a possible conflict with the mother country, when Charles I planned to annul their charter and divide up the land among his courtiers. Forts were built and militia was got in readiness; fortunately, however,

Charles at this time had enough trouble at home without provoking conflict with the American colonists.

Religious disputes disturbed the growing Puritan colony almost from its founding. There were a number of settlers who were dissatisfied with the limited plan of government laid down by the Puritan authorities. The most noted of these dissenters was Roger Williams, who had been for some time pastor of the church at Salem. He was a remarkable man and entertained views far in advance of the time in which he lived. Among other things

Roger Williams driven from the Puritan colony, 1636

he declared that land in America could not rightfully be granted by the king without the consent of the Indians whose property it originally was. He also maintained that a man was responsible for his religious

opinions to God alone, and that "no one should be bound to worship or to maintain a worship against his consent." The former theory seemed to attack the very charter of the Massachusetts colony, and the latter directly denied the civil authority of the all-powerful Puritan theocracy, or government through the church. This last view, especially, the authorities at Boston would not tolerate, and preparations were made to send Williams to England. But when Captain John Underhill arrived at Salem in the winter of 1636 to secure the person of the dissenting pastor, Williams had escaped into the wilderness.

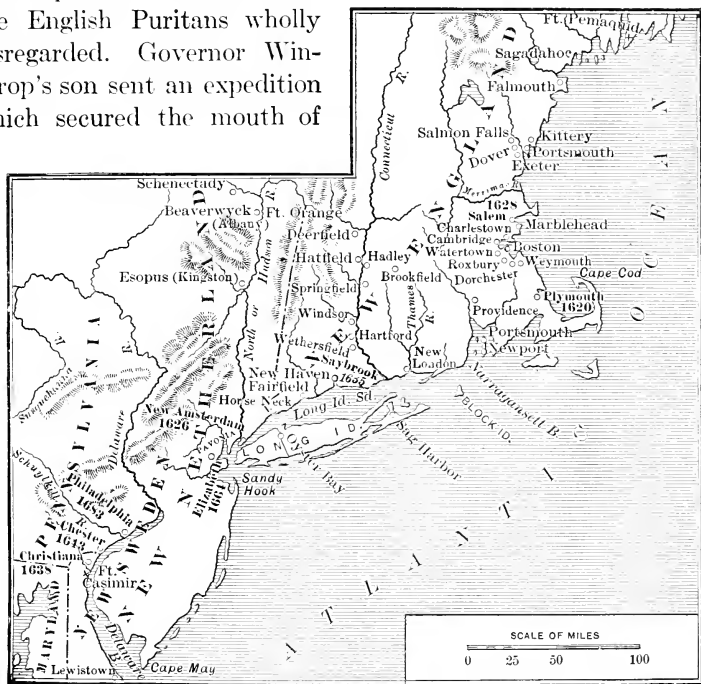
Braving starvation and exposure, he made his way south to the home of the Narragansett Indians, who became his fast friends. He procured from them a tract of land upon which, in 1636, he began to build. He called the site Providence, and this was the beginning of the colony of Rhode Island.

Beginnings of Rhode Island, 1636

In the same year that Roger Williams fled from Salem, another noted disputant began in Boston to teach doctrines that were obnoxious to the Puritan authorities. This disturber of the Puritan church was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who, with her followers, was later driven out of Boston. Mrs. Hutchinson and some of her adherents bought land from the Indians and founded the towns of Portsmouth and Newport, also in Rhode Island.

18. The Dutch Driven out of New England.—The year that saw Roger Williams lead the way in the colonization of Rhode Island also saw the beginnings of Connecticut. The Dutch had laid claim to the western half of the future English colony and had threatened war if their claims were not respected. These threats the English Puritans wholly disregarded. Governor Winthrop's son sent an expedition which secured the mouth of

Beginnings
of Connecticut,
1636



NEW ENGLAND AND NEW NETHERLAND

the Connecticut River and thus made untenable a Dutch fort above. Hartford was among the towns first founded in the new region thus opened for settlement. Its leading spirit was Thomas Hooker, a Puritan pastor, who maintained that all the people should have a part in the government and not a limited few. He

upheld a complete democracy as against the established religious theocracy of Massachusetts Bay.⁵

19. Indian Wars.—The new colony was soon called upon to face a dangerous Indian war. In fact, the probability of the alliance of several of the tribes endangered all the outlying settlements. The Pequot Indians had been accused of murdering isolated settlers in the Connecticut Valley, and John Endicott was sent against them in 1636. His course served only to arouse them to open hostility. Settlers were ambushed, captured, and, in many cases, burned alive or tortured in other ways. The Pequots further sought alliance with the numerous and powerful Narragansetts. The prospect was so alarming that appeal was made by Massachusetts to the exiled Roger Williams at Rhode Island, who, at the risk of his life, struck out alone through the snow and wilderness to the Narragansett camp-fire. Here he encountered the Pequot emissary and argued successfully against him in holding the friendship of the Narragansetts.

In the spring the colonists prepared for a decisive blow. A force of several hundred Englishmen and friendly Indians surprised the largest of the Indian forts. The encampment was attacked before dawn, and, after the two entrances were seized by Captains Mason and Underhill, firebrands were thrown into the wigwams. These were soon in flames and nearly four hundred Indians were shot down, while the attacking party lost fewer than the number of Indians who escaped. This victory of the settlers was overwhelming and the Pequots were finally driven out of Connecticut.

20. Summary.—It has been seen that by 1640 there were a number of sturdy settlements on the New England coast. First there was the Plymouth colony from Holland and England, com-

⁵ Hooker, like Williams, was well ahead of the times in which he lived, and he should be honored accordingly. The Connecticut settlement came, in time, to be dominated by the extreme Puritan influence of Massachusetts Bay, and these colonies united later in the severest condemnation of the course of the Providence and Newport plantations, with respect to religious toleration.

paratively weak in numbers but strong in its faith to fight and win. Then there followed the Massachusetts Bay colony of English Puritans, of less liberal views than the Pilgrims, but more numerous than the former and sternly resolved to dominate and control. There then followed the establishment of Rhode Island under the liberal religious guidance of Roger Williams, after which came the beginnings of Connecticut under the leadership of Thomas Hooker and others. Besides these there were scattered settlements in Maine and New Hampshire. In the latter colony the followers of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson had established settlements. Massachusetts claimed that these and the settlements in Maine were under her jurisdiction, and from time to time she made good her claims, especially in Maine, which was acknowledged as a part of the Massachusetts Bay colony for many years.

Maine and
New Hamp-
shire settle-
ments

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. When did the Dutch Netherlands become independent? See dates at end of Chapter II. Would the Pilgrims have been safe in the Netherlands if that country had remained under Spanish control?

2. Note the resemblance between the name *Speedwell* (the vessel carrying the Pilgrims from Holland to England) and the *Goodspeed*, one of the three vessels that bore the settlers to Jamestown. Note also that almost the same number of settlers were on board the larger *Mayflower* as were in the three vessels that set out for Jamestown. Compare the tonnage of the vessels.

3. Why did the communal system (the plan for equal division of increase among all) fail in both colonies?

4. Outline the distinction and the differences between the Pilgrims who settled at Plymouth in 1620 and the Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay, begun eight years later.

5. Discuss the similarities of, and the differences between, the colonies in Virginia and in New England, with reference to settlement, manner of living, social customs, religion, education, self-government, etc., etc.

6. In 1625 James I died and was succeeded by Charles I, his son. Forthwith began the great political and religious troubles that led to Puritan emigration until Charles I was beheaded and the Puritans and Presbyterians controlled Britain. (Subject for study and review.)

7. Note the following accounts of the sufferings of the early colonists, the first being taken from an account written by George Percy at Jamestown during the summer of 1607: "The sixt of August there died John Asbie. The ninth day died George Flowre. . . The tenth day died William Bruster gentleman, of a wound given by the Savages. . . The fourteenth day, Jerome Alikock, Ancient [Ensign], died of a wound; the same day Francis Mid-winter, Edward Moris Corporall died suddenly. . . Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases. . . and by Warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia." At Plymouth Bradford wrote of the terrible first winter following the landing of the Pilgrims: "But it pleased God to vissite us then, with death dayly, and with so generall a disease, that the living were scarce able to burie the dead; and the well not in any measure sufficiente to tend the sick."

CHAPTER IV

BEGINNINGS OF THE MIDDLE COLONIES AND OF THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA

21. Dutch and Swedish Colonization in North America; Settlement of New York and New Jersey.—Between the dates of the Jamestown and the Plymouth settlements, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed up the river that bears his name.

Hudson's explorations,
1609

This was in 1609 and his vessel was named the *Half Moon*. He did not find a northwest passage to India, for which he was searching, but he did carry back a cargo of valuable furs. Hudson's expedition marked the beginning of a profitable Dutch and Indian trade. This trade led, in turn, to the establishment of Dutch settlements as far north as the present site of Albany and to the south as far as the present county of Camden in New Jersey.

The most important of these Dutch settlements was that on Manhattan Island, established in 1623. A few years later, Governor Peter Minuit bought the whole island from the Indians for some beads and ribbon worth about \$24. The settlement was called New Amsterdam, while the entire region was called New Netherland.

Manhattan
Island
bought from
the Indians

A Dutch West India Company was organized to trade and to establish colonies in America. Each member of the company who brought into the colony fifty settlers was given an estate with a frontage on the water sixteen miles in length, and extending back into the country indefinitely. On this estate, the "patroon," as he was called, exercised a power not unlike that of the barons of feudal times.

The patroons

The governors sent out by the company were severe rulers, who had little sympathy with government by the people. One of

them, William Kieft (1638-1647), provoked the Indians to an attack which nearly overwhelmed the New Amsterdam colony.

Peter Stuyvesant (1647-1664) succeeded William Kieft, and was the last and most noted of the Dutch governors. He is said to have "stumped around with a wooden leg and a violent temper." He had no tolerance either for popular

government or for those whose religious views differed from the tenets of the Dutch Reformed Church. The company, however, overruled him in religious persecutions and directed him to allow all persons to worship as they pleased.

Stuyvesant fortified Manhattan against the attacks of the Indians by building a palisade entirely across the island, along the line of the present Wall Street, and in 1655 he marched against the Swedes who had settled on the Delaware. These he compelled to submit to Dutch authority, and



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PETER STUYVESANT CONSIDERING SUMMONS TO
SURRENDER NEW AMSTERDAM

"New Sweden" became a part of New Netherland.

In 1656 New Amsterdam contained about 1000 inhabitants. Many of these were traders from every part of Europe, and it was said that as many as eighteen languages were heard in the streets of the new settlement. Negroes had been imported, but these did not thrive as well with the Dutch as with their English neighbors in the south. They caused the colonists considerable trouble in subsequent uprisings and were severely punished.

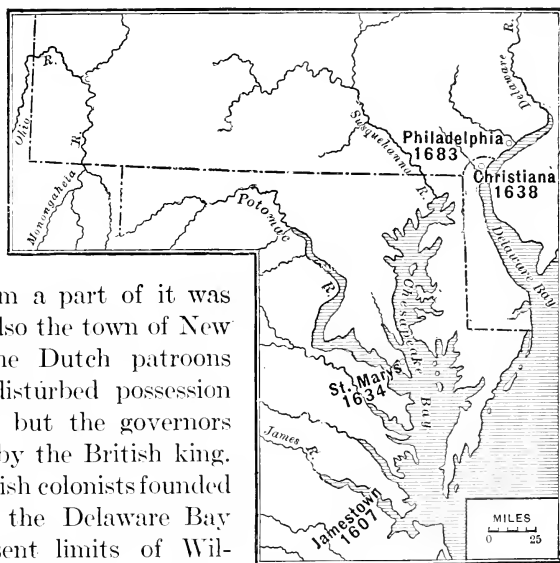
The English at Jamestown and in the New England colonies did not look with favor upon the claims of the Dutch to American

territory. We have already seen that the Puritans in the Connecticut colony calmly disregarded the Dutch claimants there. Complaints of Dutch encroachment were carried to England from America, and in 1664 a British fleet was sent to New York by Charles II. When it demanded the surrender of New Amsterdam, old Peter Stuyvesant stood alone in the desire to resist. The English secured control without striking a blow, and the Dutch settlements were merged in the British possessions.¹

New Amsterdam becomes New York, 1664

Charles II gave the province to his brother James, Duke of York, after whom a part of it was named, as was also the town of New Amsterdam. The Dutch patroons were left in undisturbed possession of their estates, but the governors were appointed by the British king.

In 1638 Swedish colonists founded a settlement on the Delaware Bay within the present limits of Wilmington. They called the town they began to build there Christiana, in honor of their queen, and the country was named New Sweden. These settlers were industrious and enjoyed undisturbed possession for nearly twenty years. Then, as we have seen, their existence so close to New Netherland aroused the opposition of Peter Stuyvesant, who compelled their surrender to the Dutch. The



THE MIDDLE COLONIES

Swedish settlements

¹ Peter Stuyvesant continued to live on Manhattan Island, and died in 1682 at his home farm, called "The Bowerie."

settlement continued as a part of the Dutch colony until it in turn was brought under British control and became a separate colony.

In 1664 the portion of New Netherland that lay between the Hudson and the Delaware was granted by Charles I to two court favorites, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The New Sweden becomes New Jersey latter had been governor of the island of Jersey on the coast of England, and the province was called New Jersey.



FOOT OF MAIDEN LANE, NEW AMSTERDAM, IN THE TIME OF PETER STUYVESANT

Carteret established a settlement (Elizabethtown) in what is known as East Jersey, and in 1676-1677 William Penn and other English Quakers founded a settlement in West Jersey. Later Penn bought Carteret's proprietary rights in East Jersey, and settlers came in considerable numbers from both Great Britain and New England. In 1702 East and West Jersey were united in one royal province.

22. Beginnings of Pennsylvania.—The reference to William Penn in the preceding paragraph leads to the story of the founda-

tion of the colony named in his honor, although Penn himself wished to name it New Wales. Penn was a Quaker and therefore at variance with the religion of court and state, but he seems to have been well liked by Charles I, who, moreover, owed the Penn family a large sum of money. This debt Charles II agreed to settle by granting Penn a patent to the country lying to the west of Delaware Bay and somewhat indefinitely described as extending from a point twelve miles north of Newcastle (Delaware) to the source of the Delaware River. Westward the colony was to extend for five degrees of longitude. By the terms of the charter, Penn was made proprietor with power to appoint all officers, but all laws passed by the colony were to be submitted to the king. It was declared also that the British government could levy taxes within the colony.



WILLIAM PENN

This charter and grant were secured by Penn in 1681, and at Chester in the following year the new proprietor established the principles of government for the colony under the name of the "Great Law." One provision distinctive of this "Great Law" was the restriction of the death penalty to two crimes, murder and treason. Another provision was to the effect that prisons should be made workshops and institutions of reform. Both of these ideas were clearly in advance of contemporary law in the mother country.

William Penn felt, as did the Calverts in Maryland and Roger Williams in Rhode Island, that despite the grant of the land by British authority, he did not own it until he had bought it from the natives. He therefore, June 23, 1683, made a treaty of peace with the Indians, securing from them not only a title for the land but their friendship, which lasted as long as Quaker rule in Pennsylvania.²

Penn's treaty
with the In-
dians

² A distinguished French writer (Voltaire) has said that "It was the only treaty never sworn to and never broken."

Penn's later life was anything but a peaceful one. He sailed for England in 1684, and eight years later was imprisoned for a time on suspicion of his being in sympathy with the deposed king, James II. He returned to Pennsylvania in 1699 to find a prosperous colony and a people clamoring for greater privileges. Many of these he granted in a new constitution and returned again to England in 1701. But he was unable to collect rents due from settlers in the province, and for a while was imprisoned for debt. Finally, as he was about to dispose of his province to the crown, he was stricken with disease, and died in 1718. During the Revolution the State of Pennsylvania purchased from Penn's heirs their interest for six hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The southern boundary of Pennsylvania caused a long-continued dispute with the previously established colony of Maryland. Finally, the line was fixed at $39^{\circ} 43'$ instead of the fortieth parallel, as at first drawn in Penn's charter. This modified boundary gave Pennsylvania an accession of territory and an outlet to the ocean. The boundary line was drawn in 1764-1767 by two surveyors named Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, and, after them, was called Mason and Dixon's Line. Later it became a line of demarcation between the northern and the southern States.

23. Settlement of Maryland.—Mention of the origin of Mason and Dixon's line leads to a consideration of the settlement of the neighboring proprietary province of Maryland, which was established a number of years before the colonies immediately to the north of it.

Early in the seventeenth century, George Calvert, a gentleman of Yorkshire, was made an Irish nobleman as Lord Baltimore.

Calvert was a Roman Catholic; and the Roman Catholics, like the Puritans and the Quakers, were subjected to restrictions or persecution under the dominance of the Church of England. Calvert sought, therefore, a colony in the New World where those of his own faith would be freed from the disabilities imposed upon them by the English law of that

Mason and
Dixon's line

George Cal-
vert and the
Roman Cath-
olic colonists

time. Lord Baltimore attempted to establish such a colony in Newfoundland as early as 1623. This proved a failure, and in 1629 he tried to colonize a number of his followers at Jamestown, but the Virginians declared against receiving them. After considering the southern coast for a time, he finally succeeded in securing a grant from Charles I to the region north and east of the Potomac River, south of the fortieth parallel, and extending westward to the source of the Potomac. The new province was named Maryland in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. George Calvert died in 1632, but the enterprise was taken up by his son and heir, Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, and by Leonard Calvert.

Under his charter Lord Baltimore was given royal powers in the province. He could wage war, coin money, levy taxes, establish courts of justice, and even grant titles of nobility, his authority being limited only by the colonial assembly. The charter also contained a remarkable provision to the effect that the people and their property should be forever exempt from taxation by the king.

In 1634 Leonard Calvert arrived in Maryland with about three hundred settlers, a large proportion of whom were Protestants. The first landing was on St. Clement's Island, but the colonists later established their first permanent settlement on the mainland after Leonard Calvert had formally traded with the Indians for the possession of the land and the purchase of an Indian village, which he named St. Mary's.

The most noteworthy provision of Lord Baltimore for the direction of the new colony was with respect to religious toleration, which was assured to all Christian settlers regardless of sect. This freedom of religious opinion was in practice extended to Jews also, so that Maryland has the honor of being the



Avery's History

GEORGE CALVERT

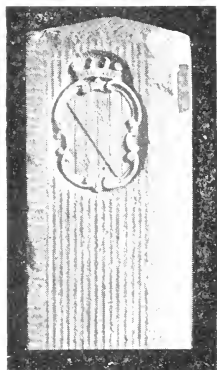
First boundaries of Maryland

Charter provides for self-government

First settlement at St. Mary's, 1634

Religious toleration established

first colony in America to establish the principles of religious toleration, which Roger Williams pronounced independently in Rhode Island two years later. The actual practice of religious toleration was followed by the formal passage of an "Act Concerning Religion" enacted by the Maryland Assembly in 1649.³



STONE SHOWING ARMS OF LORD BALTIMORE, MARKING THE MASON AND DIXON LINE

Lord Baltimore was not destined to maintain his authority in the new province without a struggle. Members of the former London Company in England and some of the colonists in Virginia felt that the giving away of Maryland by the king had infringed upon their original patents to the same territory. Moreover, many Virginians felt a sense of injury because the new settlers, who had not borne the hardships of pioneers, were granted greater commercial privileges than they themselves were enjoying. The chief objector was William Claiborne, secretary of the colony of Virginia. Claiborne, for some years prior to

the grant of Maryland, had been conducting a profitable fur trade with the Indians. He had also established trading posts as far up the Chesapeake Bay as Kent Island. Backed, therefore, by considerable sentiment in the governor's council of Virginia, Claiborne refused to acknowledge the authority of Lord Baltimore and prepared for resistance. The result was a struggle for the mastery, in which Claiborne was worsted in the first encounter. Perhaps a majority of the Virginians sympathized with the claims of Claiborne, but Governor Harvey turned Claiborne out of office and appointed in his stead Richard Kempe, one of the friends of Lord Baltimore.

Puritans were received as settlers by Lord Baltimore under

³ This Toleration Act of 1649 has led to confusion as to the real origin of religious toleration in Maryland. The act fell short of Lord Baltimore's own ideals at the founding of the colony and it imposed penalties on non-Christians.

more liberal provisions than were granted them in Virginia. They came, therefore, in large numbers and settled at Providence (Annapolis). In 1654, during Cromwell's protectorate in England, they set up a new form of government, repealed the Toleration Act of 1649, and oppressed the Catholics. A battle took place on the Severn River in which the supporters of Lord Baltimore were defeated. Shortly afterwards, however, the whole matter was brought before Cromwell and a compromise reached, whereby Lord Baltimore regained his authority and the Toleration Act was restored.

Period of
Puritan su-
premacy

Further religious trouble arose in 1689 on the accession of William and Mary. It now came about that the king and the Anglican or Episcopal Church got control of the province and the adherents of the Anglican Church secured the passage of legislation taxing all the people for its maintenance. Finally, some time after the fourth Lord Baltimore had become a member of the Anglican Church, proprietary rights were restored to the Calverts, until they were set aside at the beginning of the American Revolution.

Period of An-
glican con-
trol under
the king

24. Settlement of North Carolina.—The beginnings of permanent settlement within the limits of the present State of North Carolina were in the nature of a transplanting from Virginia in 1653. In that year a number of settlers entered the region between the Roanoke and Chowan rivers, many of whom emigrated from Virginia because of religious differences with the government of that colony. This was the beginning of what came to be known as the Albemarle settlements.

At this time the whole of the coast, from the borders of Virginia to the Spanish colony in Florida, was unoccupied. This territory, from the southern boundary of Virginia ($36^{\circ} 30'$) to the 31st parallel and westward to the Pacific, Charles II granted to eight lords-proprietors, one of whom was the noted loyalist, Sir William Berkeley, then governor of Virginia. Shortly afterwards a plan of government for the proposed colony of Carolina was written out by a famous English

Lords-pro-
priators of
the colony

philosopher, John Locke, who went back into the feudal ages to get what he called the "Grand Model" for all the English colonies. This "Grand Model" provided liberally for the proprietors. Under its terms an order of American nobility was to have been established, but it left the masses of the people few privileges and little or no self-government.⁴

The "Grand Model" was prepared in 1669 and brought over to the Carolinas, but it was found that it was one thing to write a constitution in England and quite another to enforce it in America. The Carolinians would have none of it, and, few as they were, they were ready to fight against the establishment of any such unequal scheme of government. The result was that the "Grand Model" was never put into complete operation, and as nowhere else in America was there such an autocratic government proposed, so it happened that nowhere else was there a stouter and more continuous resistance to tyranny and unjust taxation than in Carolina under a succession of proprietary rulers.

From the first, when it was seen that the Carolinians were not going to submit to autocratic government, settlers poured into the colony. In 1667 the Albemarle settlements numbered several thousand persons. The climate was found to be pleasant and the soil fertile. A brisk trade was begun with the New England colonies. Several proprietary governors were deposed and expelled by the people, who from time to time set up their own government until they were assured of redress for their grievances. In 1688 the people banished Governor Seth Sothel, a particularly offensive official, who was succeeded by Philip Ludwell of Virginia. The province at this time became known as North Carolina.

25. Beginnings of South Carolina.—Southern Carolina, which became later the separate colony of South Carolina, was first

⁴ One good provision, however, of this unusually autocratic form of government was to the effect that "No person, whatsoever, shall disturb, molest or persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship."

permanently settled by the English in 1670, when William Sayle brought over a body of Puritans from the Bermudas. These landed at Port Royal, but soon removed to a more secure harbor at the mouth of the Ashley River. Here they founded Charleston, named in honor of Charles II. The Spaniards pursued the new arrivals in order to drive them out, but the skilfully fortified position appeared too formidable for successful assault and the invaders retired without accomplishing anything.

The new settlement soon began to thrive with the accession of both English and French-Huguenot colonists. The latter had been driven out of France by religious persecution. Being thrifty and industrious, they contributed greatly to the prosperity of the province.

Like the colonists in northern Carolina, the South Carolinians were forced into almost continual resistance to the oppressive acts of selfish proprietary rulers; and, like their neighbors, they would, on occasion, drive out these governors and secure a fuller measure of popular rights. Besides these struggles with the proprietors, the early Carolinians were eager to fight the Spaniards to the south of them. This the proprietors endeavored to prohibit, but privateering against the Spaniards was carried on in spite of the governors. These adventures and the general disregard of the monopolistic navigation acts added greatly to the wealth of the colony, so that by the beginning of the eighteenth century Charleston was noted for its commercial prosperity and the culture of its people. The struggle against the proprietors reached its climax in 1719, when the people rose up and proclaimed James Moore as their governor under a special constitution. In 1729 South Carolina became a royal province, in accordance with a petition from the people to put an end to the proprietary form of government.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Spaniards, realizing their inability to prevent the English colonization of

North America, began to admit the British claims to the greater part of the continent. The line of boundary between their Florida settlements and South Carolina was, however, a matter of dispute with the English for many years. The Spaniards claimed the territory as far north as the Savannah River, although they made no effort to colonize the intervening territory. In 1715 they incited the Yemassee, Creek, Cherokee, and Catawba Indians to attack the English; but the Carolinians, under the leadership of Governor Craven, met the Indians and defeated them.

Trouble
with Span-
ish and In-
dians

26. Settlement of Georgia.—This continual border warfare with the Indians and the hostility of the Spaniards led the Carolina colonists to regard with favor the scheme of General James Edward Oglethorpe to settle the border ground as the colony of Georgia. Oglethorpe was not only a soldier, but a member of parliament and a man of wealth. He was also a philanthropist and a thinker in advance of his times.

Oglethorpe

In England, at the time of the founding of the American colonies, and for many years thereafter, any man who failed in business, even if it was through no fault of his own, was thrown into prison if he could not pay his debts. Honest men out of prison could hope by hard work to pay their debts. In prison they could hope neither for payment nor release.

Release of
unfortunate
debtors

Moreover, these unfortunate debtors were a burden upon the state. Oglethorpe now proposed to release those of good character, transport them to the new colony in America, and give them an opportunity to begin life anew. No nobler idea was ever con-

First settle-
ment, 1733

ceived, and Oglethorpe himself led the first colony of 120 emigrants. These landed in 1733, eighteen miles from the mouth of the Savannah River, where they first gave thanks to God for their safe arrival and renewed hopes, and began forthwith to build a settlement which they called Savannah. Forts were constructed for protection against attack by Spaniards and Indians. With the latter, however, Oglethorpe succeeded

in making a treaty of peace and secured from them a title to land as far south as the St. John's River.

Oglethorpe also made provision for Christianizing the natives, and, in 1736, when he returned to Georgia from England, he brought with him John Wesley to preach to both colonists and Indians. Wesley was much impressed by the faith and courage of the settlers. Later, he returned to England and became the founder of the Methodist Church, which was first established in that country. Another great Methodist evangelist, George Whitefield, followed Wesley into the colony in 1738. He crossed the Atlantic sixtimes in the next twelve years and traveled through the English colonies from Georgia to Massachusetts.

Preaching of
Wesley and
Whitefield

Whitefield, together with the pastor of some German colonists, advocated the introduction of negro slaves into Georgia on the ground that it was good for the negro to be redeemed from barbarism and slavery in Africa and brought therefrom to a greatly improved condition of servitude under Christian influence in the New World. Furthermore, James Habersham, a distinguished colonial leader, maintained that southern settlements could not prosper without negro slave labor, as the white man could not withstand the malarial fevers of the swamp lands. Consequently, negro slaves were brought into the colony under certain restrictions.⁵ Besides the settlers brought over under the direction of Oglethorpe and the trustees of the colony, a number of Germans, Moravians, Scotch Highlanders, and Puritans from New England settled in the midland and the upper country.



JAMES OGLETHORPE

Introduction
of slaves into
the colony

⁵ Whitefield founded an orphan asylum near Savannah in 1741, raising money therefor by preaching in England and by the sale of crops grown on the plantation, which he profitably farmed through his slaves.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Compare the price set upon Manhattan Island by the Indians with the cost of a single New York skyscraper of to-day. What is the extent of Manhattan Island? How far has the city outgrown it? Imagine Peter Stuyvesant's return to New York to-day. Cf. Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*. The purchasing power of Peter Minuit's \$24 was four or five times as great in 1626 as it is now; but the realty of Manhattan Island was in 1913 assessed at more than \$5,000,000,000, an amount too great for the mind to grasp.

2. Supposing that Lord Baltimore had been able to hold to his original northern boundary (the 40th parallel), would Philadelphia have been built as a Maryland city, or would its site have been farther north?

3. Since a great deal of space cannot be given to the story of the establishment of each colony, should you not like to look up some special matters connected with the colonies which most arouse your interest? Perhaps you could, from your own reading, add much of interest to the recitation.

ENGLISH DATES FOR REFERENCE

1603-1625. Reign of James I.

1625-1649. Reign of Charles I.

1642-1649. Civil War in England.

CHAPTER V

VIRGINIA AND NEW ENGLAND—CONTINUED

PART I. VIRGINIA

27. Indian Massacre in Virginia, 1622.—We left the story of the first English colony at the beginning of its expansion, in order to tell of the beginning of twelve other colonies on the North American coast. We now return to the narrative of the first colony on the eve of the greatest single calamity which befell it; namely, the Indian massacre of 1622.¹

The first greeting of the Indians to the English in Virginia had been an attack upon the latter at their landing. These southern Indians may have become hostile to all white men because of their experience with the Spaniards, who had dealt roughly with them. At any rate, the most powerful Indian tribes in Virginia were unfriendly in their attitude toward the English from the beginning of their settlement; and they were really at peace with the colonists only upon the marriage of Rolfe with Pocahontas and during the latter's lifetime thereafter. Except for this brief period, the Indians under Powhatan and his crafty brother, Opechancanough, were ever threatening the colonists. From time to time settlers were ambushed and killed, and there were counter attacks by the colonists. The climax of trouble did not come, however, until after the death of Powhatan.

In 1621, friendly Indians on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake warned the colonists of a proposed plot to destroy in one

¹ This division of colonial narrative would be subject to proper criticism from the standpoint of an extended history, but in these pages it seems to present the best possible plan. For instance, to pursue the story of the first colony from its founding to the transition period under the British Commonwealth would seem to over-emphasize the colony of Virginia, even if its story were connected with that of Maryland.

day all the settlements of the English. Governor Yeardley at once got the plantations in a position of defense, and accused Opechancanough of this design. That chieftain, however, earnestly protested innocence, and the English were lulled into a sense of security until the full blow fell on the first of April, 1622. On that day, early in the morning, all the settlements for 140 miles on either side up and down the James River were attacked while the colonists were at their work, in house or field. Neither age nor sex was spared, and women and children were murdered with tomahawk and gun. Two things saved the colony from possible annihilation. One of these was the timely warning given to some of the colonists by Chanco, an Indian convert to Christianity, and the other was the protection afforded a few of the eastern settlements by the friendly Indians of the Eastern Shore.

The full list of the killed was never published. Scores of the settlers perished without being able to defend themselves, while many of them had entertained their Indian foes at breakfast on the morning of the massacre.²

The massacre was a terrible blow to the growing colony, but the survivors seem not to have become disheartened. With aid from the London Company, they at once prepared to avenge the death of their countrymen. We have no detailed accounts of their expeditions against the Indians; but, despite a number of ambushes on the part of the

² One of the killed was George Thorpe, the special friend of the Indians, and the manager of the property of Henrico College, designed for the education of the natives. He had recently built a house for Opechancanough, which seemed greatly to please that chieftain, who took "special delight in the lock and key." Another victim of the massacre was a *Mayflower* emigrant, and it is interesting to learn that the Jamestown survivors sent a ship to the Plymouth colonists in the north to warn them against any similar attack. The Virginia ship also brought timely provisions to the Pilgrims, "or some had starved" to death. Another sudden Indian massacre took place in April, 1644; but shortly afterwards the settlers' implacable enemy, the aged chieftain, Opechancanough, was captured.

natives, the settlers were successful in driving the savages before them, and in destroying their villages and crops.

28. The Colonists in Conflict with James I and Charles I, 1624-1642.—It was fortunate for the colony that it was by this time vigorous enough to stand alone; for in 1624 James I demanded the surrender of the charter of the London Company and gave orders that the latter be dissolved. The king disliked the independent spirit both of the company and the colony, and he prepared to put the colonists wholly under royal direction. To this end, he set about making a code of laws for Virginia, but died in the midst of his work. He was succeeded by Charles I, who, while equally opposed to popular government, became too busy with difficulties at home greatly to trouble the self-government of the colonies in America. In fact, when the Virginians showed their independence of action in deposing Governor Harvey in 1635 because of the latter's high-handed dealings with the people, Charles I did not feel able to take definite action against the colonists, although he later, for a brief period, restored Harvey to the governorship.

The events that followed in England had an important bearing upon the colony in Virginia. When the Puritans and the Parliamentary party gained ascendancy, a great number of the adherents of the king emigrated to Virginia. Amidst new democracy, these emigrants followed in America modified traditions and customs of the old-world landed gentry. To this class belonged John Washington, whose descendant, George Washington, was to be the leading figure in the war for independence against both king and parliament.³

Cavalier emigration to Virginia

29. Virginia Supports Charles and Opposes Parliament, 1649.—The Virginians were conservative people and clung to the idea of royal authority as the basis of their government, yet they were the first to offer resistance to this authority when it became op-

³ Among these Cavalier emigrants there were other names which became prominent in history, such as Madison, Monroe, Tyler, Randolph, Mason, and Marshall.

pressive or unjust. On the other hand, at the beginning of the Cromwell regency, Virginia openly declared for Prince Charles, the son, and later the successor of Charles I, whom the Parliamentary party had beheaded.

This resistance to established authority in the mother country was not to be overlooked, however, so Cromwell and Parliament dispatched commissioners and a force to compel submission. The commissioners met extended preparations for resistance by the colonists; so both parties wisely agreed to come to terms, which, on the one side, was the recognition by the Virginians of the Protectorate as an act admitted

Compromise
with the
Cromwell
Protecto-
rate

by the commissioners to be "a voluntary one . . . not forced nor constrained by conquest." On the other hand, a full measure of self-government was to be assured to the colony by Parliament. Consequently, the House of Burgesses passed all laws, imposed all taxes, and elected its governors like an independent commonwealth. The colonists continued to administer their own affairs

Origin of the
name "The
Old Domin-
ion"

until the accession of Prince Charles to the throne as Charles II. It was at this time that Virginia received its name of "The Old Dominion," not only on account of its loyalty to the king, but because it was spoken of as "His Majesty's Kingdom of Virginia," just as were the component parts of the United Kingdom in the Old World: England, Scotland, and Ireland.

30. The Restoration of the Stuarts and the Rule of Governor Berkeley.—Charles II, with characteristic Stuart ingratitude, but ill repaid the Virginians for their loyalty to him in the Civil War. He was willing to let his favorites at court get what they could from the colony in the way of trade monopolies. Sir William Berkeley reassumed authority as governor. Naturally obstinate and tyrannical, he became more than ever opposed to progress and the development of democratic ideas in Virginia. As far as he could, he ruled through a favored few, so that Virginians of all classes grew very restless under him. The climax of opposition came when the governor and his coun-

Berkeley's
indifference
to Indian
massacres,
1675-1676

cillors refused to protect the frontier settlers against Indian attacks. Berkeley and his favorites either feared the raising of an armed force or they were unwilling to risk sacrificing a profitable fur trade.

When the governor had repeatedly refused to take any action, a wealthy and talented young settler named Nathaniel Bacon championed the cause of the people, marched against the Indians, and utterly routed them. Governor Berkeley proclaimed Bacon a rebel, and set a price upon the latter's head, at the same time sending to England for troops to crush colonial resistance to his despotic rule. This act so aroused the colonists that a great number of their leading men, under Bacon, met at Middle Plantation (Williamsburg); and in a notable debate continuing far into the night, under the flaming light of pine torches, the Virginians declared that they would fight even the king's troops, should they come to the aid of the governor. This great discussion of colonial rights took place in August, 1676, and the statement of its broad principles of political liberty preceded those of the American Revolution by just one hundred years.

Nathaniel
Bacon de-
feats the In-
dians

Bacon leads
the people in
revolt

Bacon forthwith led the settlers against the Indians; but, during his absence, Governor Berkeley returned to Jamestown, took possession, and declared that Bacon and his followers were rebels and traitors. The rebels, however, repulsed the governor's adherents, and held Jamestown until it was learned that Berkeley had gathered an overwhelming force from the northern plantations. Bacon and his men decided that the capital should be laid in ashes before it should be occupied again by the tyrannical governor, and two of his followers began the work by setting fire to their own houses, the best in the town; so that the first English settlement in America was given over to the flames and was never rebuilt.⁴

Berkeley out-
laws Bacon

⁴ These leaders were William Drummond, a Scotchman, and Richard Lawrence, an Oxford scholar. They should be remembered in history with Thomas Nelson, who, at Yorktown in 1781, offered a reward to the American gunner who first hit his house, which had become the headquarters of Cornwallis.

It appears from the recent discovery of additional records that Bacon had excellent prospects of winning over to the popular side many of Governor Berkeley's followers as the opposing forces prepared for battle at Gloucester Point. But a fever seized the young leader, and, dying in the following October, he was buried secretly, lest indignities be offered his body after death.

Without their leader, Bacon's followers sought to make peace with Berkeley, but the latter was not easily pacified. He set about confiscating so much property and hanging so many of the "rebels" that even his own councillors protested, while Charles II declared that, "The old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." He was recalled to England shortly after the arrival of the British troops that were sent over to put down the first rebellion in America.

PART II. NEW ENGLAND

31. Beginning of Colonial Unity.—In following the history of southern and middle colonies, we get the idea of clearly marked and divergent commonwealths. These colonies were either English in origin, or, as in the case of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, they came under British control. They all, therefore, acknowledged the same authority; but each colony gives us the impression of a distinct entity, disassociated from its neighbors.

It is true that at one period North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia assisted each other in repelling Indian attacks, and it is also true that at a later period the colonies enlisted troops for a general struggle with the French in America, but no ideas for a general colonial union were seriously considered. Virginia was at first jealous of the intrusion of Maryland into her former territory, and for many years Maryland likewise contended against the encroachments of Pennsylvania on her boundaries. Moreover, differences in the dominating religious beliefs of some of the colonies were very marked, as illustrated by

Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, which were established respectively under Anglican Episcopal, Roman Catholic, and Quaker auspices.

In New England, on the contrary, the various settlements tended to unite, and here was first suggested in America the idea of confederation. A common religion bound four of these colonies; and as religion in those days was closely associated with governmental policies, this tie counted for a great deal. The colonies in New England which would thus naturally unite were the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut settlements. The people of these settlements knew that their form of religion was different from and offensive to the Established Church in England, and they also knew that by uniting they would present a stronger front against possible interference on the part of the mother country. Rhode Island, however, having offered religious freedom to her settlers and thereby having presented a harbor for all those disaffected with Puritan domination, was excluded from the plan of union.

From 1642 to 1649 the great civil war was raging in England; and, as the Puritan success drove the Cavaliers into the southern colonies after 1649, the same turn of affairs kept the Puritans in England. Under Puritan control Parliament passed the first Navigation Acts in 1651, restricting American commerce to British-owned ships and British goods. The strict enforcement of these acts would have especially injured Puritan enterprises in New England, but the colonies evaded the acts and all prospered greatly.

32. Persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts.—The period that began with the restoration of the king saw a great deal of religious disturbance in New England. Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson had been driven out of Massachusetts. Quakers, however, now began to come in and resolutely held their ground against much persecution. They would not go to Rhode Island, where they were not molested, but persisted particularly in preaching their doctrines in Boston. They were arrested and banished

The New
England col-
onies

The first
Navigation
Acts, 1651

under pain of death should they return. They did return and some of them were hanged, one being a woman of high standing and repute. These executions took place under direction of the Puritan elders, but it was found that the majority of the people were opposed to such severity. One Quaker, Wenlock Christison, warned the judges "that ye shed no more innocent blood." He was condemned to die, but the judges feared the wrath of the people, and no others were executed, although Quakers were afterwards whipped and put in prison.

Charles II declared that the Puritan rulers had exceeded their authority. He ordered that those Quakers under accusation of disturbing the peace should be sent to England for trial, and that none should be put to death. The Puritan leaders, however, continued to try their prisoners regardless of the king's command. Furthermore, two of the judges who had condemned Charles I to the gallows were given shelter in New England, and in New Haven the Rev. Mr. Davenport openly gave them aid and comfort. Consequently, although the exiled regicides were frequently pursued by British troops, they were never captured.

33. King Philip's War, 1675-1676.—Many of the Indian tribes in New England were watching the steady expansion of the English with ill-disguised hostility. It will be remembered that some of the earlier chiefs became the fast friends of the settlers, by whom they were, as a rule, fairly and honestly treated. But now, as the Indians saw the settlements grow and their hunting grounds disappear, they prepared to drive out or exterminate the white invader. It is possible that these Indians of New England may have been in communication with the Indians of Virginia; for, about the time of the uprising in Virginia which called forth Nathaniel Bacon, the Wamponoags, Narragansetts, and Nipmucks of New England began to burn dwellings and massacre the settlers in the north.

The first attack was made by Philip, sachem of the Wamponoags, in 1675, and the war that followed was called King Philip's

War. The Plymouth colony was the first to suffer; several villages were burned and the inhabitants killed or tortured. But the Puritans had no Governor Berkeley to hold their vengeance in check, and the Wamponoags were soon crushed. Philip, however, escaped to the Nipmucks, who began to burn houses and attack the settlers in one place or another up to very neighborhood of Boston. Before the Narragansetts could enter the war, their great palisaded fort in Rhode Island was vigorously assailed by a force of one thousand colonists, who destroyed it and killed more than a thousand Indians. This victory was won in December, and by the summer of 1676 the three Indian tribes were utterly crushed and their chieftains, Philip and Canonchet, killed. The captured Indians were sold as slaves. A detached tribe in Maine kept up the conflict, but everywhere the settlers were successful, although they had lost over a thousand men, together with a number of women and children. Nearly half of all their towns had been attacked and twelve totally destroyed. A great war debt had also been contracted.

Indian massacres, 1675

Indians defeated by the settlers, 1676



Avery's History

PURITAN COSTUMES

34. Massachusetts Claims Settlements in Maine and New Hampshire.—In addition to the feeling of irritation aroused in the mind of Charles II by the protection afforded the judges who had condemned his father, the king found other cause for complaint, especially with Massachusetts, which colony had absorbed the settlements of New Hampshire (1641–1643) and Maine (1667). In this absorption, Massachusetts was acting within the terms of her first charter. This charter provided for the control of territory three miles north of the Merrimac, which was at first supposed to flow east and west throughout its length. But as the source of the river is far to the north of its mouth, the original charter boundaries included the settlements that had been made in New Hampshire and Maine.

Maine and New Hampshire

Massachusetts located the source of the Merrimac while the Stuart kings gave out other charters in entire ignorance of American geography. Massachusetts had paid £1200 to the heirs of Gorges, the founder of Maine, for their rights. The king now ordered the transaction cancelled, ordered Massachusetts to give up Maine, and in 1679 made the New Hampshire territory a royal province.

Charles II sent over commissioners to inquire into these "disorders." Upon their arrival in the colony, the commissioners claimed that the king's letters were no more regarded than if they were "an old number of the London *Gazette*." In consequence, the king had the charter of Massachusetts annulled and the colony made over into a royal province in 1684, just as James I had done in the dispute with Virginia in 1625. He then set about drawing up a plan for a new government. But as the plans of James I for the colony of Virginia had been cut short by the death of that ruler, so now the Massachusetts plans of his grandson were never completed, on account of the death of Charles II in 1685.

35. Sir Edmund Andros Appointed Governor over the New England Colonies and New York and New Jersey.—James II succeeded his brother, and one of the early acts of the new king was to unite under royal supervision all the New England colonies, together with New York and New Jersey, into one great province as a bulwark of defense against the encroachments of the French in the north. He sent over Sir Edmund Andros as governor. Andros was an honest official, but he was firmly determined upon bringing the colonies more directly under the control of the king, and thereby depriving them of some of their independence of attitude and action.

In pursuance of this policy, Governor Andros introduced the Episcopal form of worship in Massachusetts, in which he had the sympathy of some of the people; but he also dismissed the Massachusetts Assembly, abolished the courts of the colony, denied free expression of opinion in the newspapers, and taxed the colonists without the consent of their

Massachu-
setts defies
Charles II

Massachu-
setts opposes
James II also,
1685-1689

representatives. The royal authority exercised through the zealous Andros was aimed more particularly at Massachusetts than any other colony under the direction of the governor. Massachusetts had not only managed her own affairs, but had strongly dominated the other New England colonies except Rhode Island. James II felt that this colony must be made to yield, but neither Massachusetts nor the other colonies submitted to Governor Andros readily. In Rhode Island and Connecticut the charters were cleverly hid, and Andros was foiled in his efforts to get them. Moreover, Massachusetts seemed on the point of open resistance, when it became known that James II had been deposed by the English people. Boston received the news with joy. Andros was seized by the people, and the government of Boston was taken over by the town meeting and a specially appointed committee of safety. Andros was sent back to England, and William and Mary granted a new charter to Massachusetts, while Rhode Island and Connecticut quietly resumed their government under the terms of the charters that had been saved.

36. Union of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies.—The new Massachusetts charter provided for the union of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay under a governor appointed by the king; it guaranteed freedom of worship to all Protestant denominations, and struck at Puritan control by making the possession of property, instead of church membership, the basis of political rights and privilege. Massachusetts continued to control the settlements in Maine until 1820.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What two things may have prevented the massacre of all the settlers in Virginia in 1622? (See p. 54.) The chieftain of the Eastern Shore Indians was Debedeavon, a most interesting and, perhaps, a unique character among the North American natives. He was called by the English the "Laughing King," because of his general good-humor, which was not wholly exhausted even when he was subjected, on sundry occasions, to unwarranted aggression on the part of some of the settlers. The wide expanse of Chesapeake Bay

afforded protection to the Eastern Shore Indians from ready attack by their fierce kinsmen of the mainland. Moreover, the fertility of the soil and the wonderful abundance of fish and game made existence easy, so that the "Laughing King" and his subjects seemed to enjoy the peace and plenty of their little kingdom. (See "Ye Kingdom of Accawmacke, or the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," by J. C. Wise.)

2. What events in England caused an increased emigration to Virginia? The ancestors of what Presidents of the United States came over at this period? See footnote, p. 55.

3. Why was Jamestown burned? See p. 57.

4. There was a marked decrease in emigration of Puritans to America between 1642 and 1660. Why was this?

5. Compare the Indian wars of New England with those of Virginia at about the same period. Extended accounts have reached us of the former, but we know comparatively little of Bacon's campaigns in Virginia.

6. What event or individual in Part I of this chapter most interested you? In Part II?

7. Perhaps you could add something of interest to the narrative, such as the story of the "Charter Oak" in Connecticut, although this story, like the rescue of John Smith by Pocahontas, is not fully authenticated.

ENGLISH DATES FOR REFERENCE

1625. Accession of Charles I.

1642. Beginning of Civil War.

1649. Charles I beheaded.

1649-1660. Parliamentary rule and Cromwell Protectorate.

1651. Passage of the first navigation laws in restriction of American trade.

1660. Restoration of the kingdom and the accession of Charles II.

1665. Plague and Great Fire in London.

CHAPTER VI

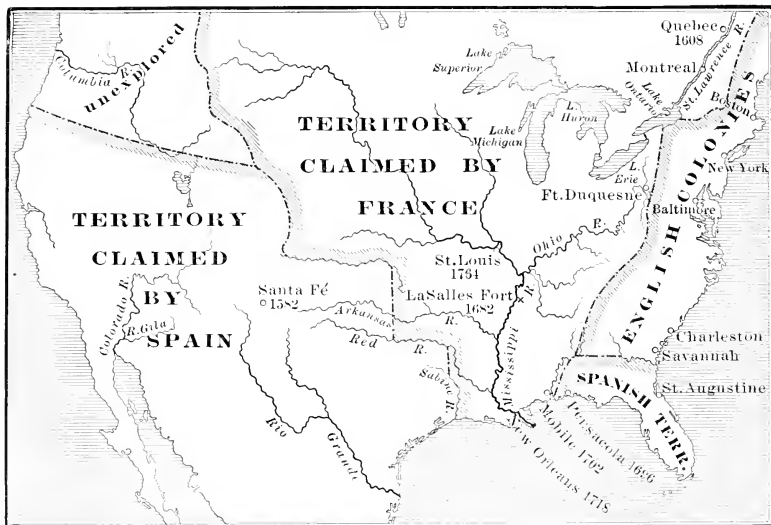
THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTROL OF NORTH AMERICA

37. Rise of New France.—We have seen how the English, ignoring the claims of the Spanish nation to all of North America, had now taken possession of an Atlantic coast region that stretched from Florida on the south to the St. Lawrence River on the north. This had been brought about chiefly during the seventeenth century, or from 1607 to the settlement of Georgia in 1733.

But as the influence of Spain began to decline both in the Old World and in the New, another European power arose to dispute with the English the control of the North American continent. This power was France. Under the lead of Samuel de Champlain, the “Father of New France,” a settlement had been effected upon the great rock of Quebec in 1608. Like Founding of Quebec, 1608 the Jamestown and Plymouth colonies, it barely survived the first winter; but although the courage and endurance of these settlers excite our admiration and interest, we are here considering French colonization only in so much as it came into contact with the British or as it encroached upon British claims within the borders of the present United States.

One of the first acts of the French colonists contributed largely to their final overthrow in the New World. Urged by the Algonquin Indians to join them in an attack against their traditional enemies, the Iroquois, the colonists agreed to do so. Consequently, the French, together with the The French attack the Iroquois, 1609 Algonquins, attacked and defeated the Iroquois on the shores of Lake Champlain in the summer of 1609; and not only brought against themselves the animosity of the “Five Nations” of Indians to the south of them, but made the Iroquois tribes for one hundred years the allies of the Dutch and the English. In consequence, the Iroquois kept the French almost wholly out of

New York, and compelled them to follow a western route to gain access to the interior of the country. In the very year of the battle on Lake Champlain, Hudson sailed up the river that bears his name, and made with the Iroquois the treaty that has been already referred to in the story of the settlement of New York.



MAP SHOWING FRENCH, SPANISH AND ENGLISH CLAIMS PRIOR TO OVERTHROW OF THE FRENCH

In spite, however, of this obstacle to their progress, in spite of their limited numbers, and in spite of a despotic form of government, the French traders made wonderful progress under leaders unsurpassed for daring and vast accomplishment. In a comparatively short time Champlain and Nicolet had mapped out the course and confines of the Great Lakes, and St. Lusson, with due pomp and ceremony, had stood on the shores of Lake Superior, claiming the northwest for the "Grand Monarque," Louis XIV. Moreover, nearly a score of years before the close of the seventeenth century, the

New France claims the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley

adventurous and self-sacrificing La Salle followed the Mississippi River to its mouth, claiming the interior of the continent in the name of France, and calling the entire valley of the Father of Waters Louisiana, in honor of his king. As ^{Louisiana named} the years went on, the French were to reach out southward and eastward, and the English northward and westward.

38. Conflict between French and English for the Control of New York.—From the earliest times, explorers, traders, and colonists of Spanish, French, or English descent fought each other when they met in the New World regardless of declarations of war or proclamations of peace between their respective countries. The English had fought the Spanish where they met them on sea or land; and the French and English were fighting for ^{French designs} control of the American fishing coasts, for the fur trade in northern Canada, for the possession of Acadia in the east and the border colony of New York. It was, however, in the last-named region that a crisis was to occur, and it is that region which most concerns our history. Far-sighted French leaders perceived clearly that, if they could control New York, they would separate the English colonists and thereby greatly weaken the British power in America.

Had the Stuart kings remained in power, it is possible that the French would have effected their purpose, temporarily at least; but on the accession of William and Mary to the throne in 1689, events shaped themselves very differently. ^{Effect of the accession of William III} Charles II and James II had been secretly more or less dependent upon the King of France; but William III, as ruler of the Netherlands only, had been the bitterest opponent of Louis XIV on the continent. A series of wars between England and France broke out, the first being known in America as King William's War, the second as Queen Anne's War, and the third as King George's War.

39. King William's War, 1690–1697.—The French leader in America, the captain-general of New France, was Count Frontenac, a bold and resourceful master of men. He would on occasion adopt some of the habits and put on the war paint of his Indian

allies. Although he was then seventy years old, he would take part in their war dances, and was ready either for Indian strategy or "pale-face" warfare. He now had orders to conquer New York and annex it to New France. But the attack that Champlain had made upon the Iroquois years before saved the day for the English. Frontenac was not able to begin his great campaign because his Indian foes of the Five Nations were at his own doors. They had cut off the French fur trade and were torturing French prisoners in plain sight of the settlement at Montreal. Such was the perilous condition of New France when Frontenac returned to the colony after a visit to the mother country. On his arrival, therefore, he was forced to defend Canada first, and to content himself with raids upon outlying English settlements, such as Schenectady in New York (1690), Durham in New Hampshire (1694), and Haverhill in New England (1697). The first of these attacks fell upon Schenectady; but that upon Haverhill became the most famous through the exploit of a woman captive, Mrs. Thomas Dustin, who, with two companions, succeeded in killing her Indian captors and escaping through the woods back to the settlement.

Nearly all these Indian attacks were made by stealth, many of them at night, and in the winter. The victims were either massacred on the spot or they were carried off for torture. All the settlers along the line of the northern colonies stood in daily fear of surprise and massacre during these years. Concerted efforts by large forces were made to attack Quebec and Montreal. The expedition against Quebec was led by William Phips, who was born in Maine in 1651, one of an American family of twenty brothers. Both expeditions were brought to nought, partly through the genius of Frontenac and partly through British and American mismanagement. Moreover, in the next few years, Frontenac succeeded in breaking the power of the Five Nations, and the Iroquois sued for peace. In America King William's War had redounded to the credit of the French and was followed by a peace that lasted four years.

Count Fron-
tenac

Indian at-
tacks upon
the English
settlements

Frontenac's
success

40. Second War with France, 1702-1714.—This struggle became known in America as Queen Anne's War. As before, it was a prolonged struggle of the English colonists, along the line of their northern border, against the French and their Indian allies, in which the outlying settlements suffered from ambuscades, massacres, burnings, and all the horrors of savage warfare. Haverhill, but 30 miles from Boston, was again the scene of massacre, and Deerfield was pillaged. On the

Nova Scotia
(Acadia)
captured by
the British



From an old print

THE ATTACK ON HAVERHILL

part of the English, a second expedition was led against Quebec, but it also ended in failure; Nova Scotia, however, was captured and held by colonial and British troops.

Owing to their position, the middle colonies were free from attack at this time, but the French and Spanish planned an extended invasion of the Carolinas, Georgia not then having been settled. Governor Nathaniel Johnson, however, devoted himself to the defense of these provinces, and although a terrible plague of yellow fever was raging in and about Charleston when the French and Spanish appeared

Carolinas repel
invasion of Spanish
and French
allies, 1706

before its fortifications in 1706, the Carolinians won a notable victory, driving off the enemy and capturing over two hundred French and Spanish prisoners. This defeat crushed the hopes of the French and Spanish in the south.

Peace was declared in Europe in 1713. The claims of Great Britain to Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay country were recognized, and Nova Scotia was ceded to England. The results in this war were against the French in the east, but in the west they had established their connections throughout the central part of the continent from Detroit (1701) to Mobile (1702).

Results of
Queen
Anne's War

41. Third War with France; First Period, 1743-1748.—Except for minor conflicts, both parties seem to have been preparing for the final struggle (King George's War), which broke out in 1743. With short intervals of peace, this war lasted until the end of the European conflict known as the Seven Years' War, or until 1763, a year that also marked the beginning of the political struggle between the colonies and Great Britain. This preliminary twenty years of conflict with New France was destined to bring out and train many of the great leaders of the American Revolution, among them George Washington.

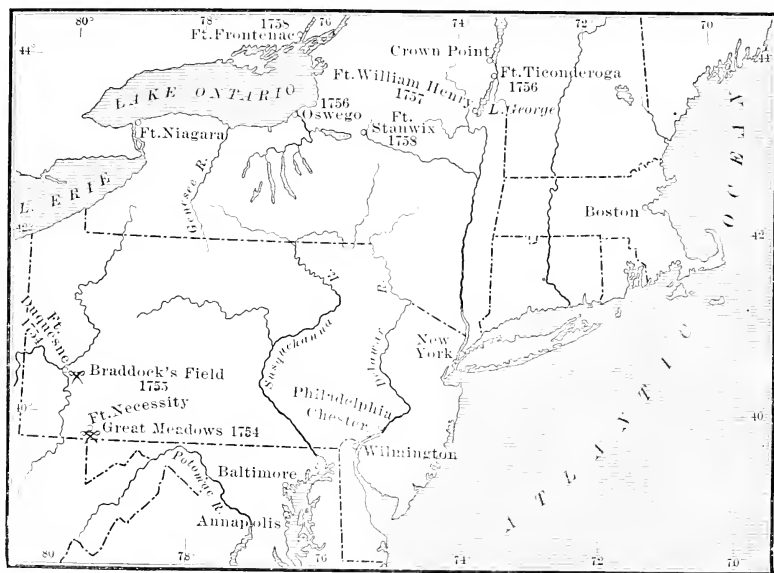
From the English viewpoint the first period of this war reached its climax in the ably-conducted and successful campaign against Louisburg on Cape Breton Island. This was very largely the achievement of New England, and it was marked by the choice for a second time of a colonial commander from Maine to lead a large force against a stronghold of the French. Louisburg was considered an almost impregnable fortress, but, after six weeks' siege by New England militia and four British men-of-war, it capitulated. The news of its capture was received with great joy on both sides of the Atlantic, and William Pepperell, the American commander, was rewarded with a baronetcy. When a temporary peace was made three years later (1748), the colonies were highly indignant when they learned that the British government had given

First campaign against
Louisburg,
1745

this hard-won stronghold back to France in exchange for Madras in distant India.

Peace could not last, however, as long as French and English boundaries in America were unsettled. In 1750 the Ohio Company was formed in the middle colonies to promote English development of the western frontier. Upon hearing of this proposed encroachment upon the claims of the French to the interior of the continent, the French commanders

English and French meet in the Ohio valley



MAP OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN CAMPAIGNS

in America began to erect a chain of forts from Lake Erie to the southwestern part of the present State of Pennsylvania. This movement aroused the antagonism of the colonial governors, especially that of the energetic Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia. Determining to warn the French commanders to withdraw from English territory, Dinwiddie entrusted this most important mission to George Washington, then

The Governor of Virginia warns the French

a young surveyor. Although Washington was at that time scarcely of age, he had been for two years a major in the Virginia militia; he was hardy, accustomed to border life, and had earned the reputation of doing well whatever he undertook. Not only was he recognized for his own ability and force of character, but he was a member of a family that had long been favorably known in colonial life.

The task required of young Major Washington was a perilous and delicate undertaking. Not only did it require firmness and discretion, especially in dealing with the Indians, but great courage and an endurance of a high order. His journey of six hundred miles lay through a tangled wilderness where, for the most part, the Indians were favorably disposed to the French and were likely to kill or torture every Englishman found in that region.¹ Major Washington carried out his instructions with absolute faithfulness and delivered his message to the French Commander at Fort Le Boeuf, within a few miles of Lake Erie. Discreet and sober himself, he learned much from French officers who were neither. He observed closely their strength and fortifications and made notes of all that he saw.

However, it was idle to think that a brave people were going to give up, without a struggle, valuable outposts built at the cost of so much labor and peril; and the message Washington brought back to Governor Dinwiddie and the Virginia Assembly was a reassertion of the claims of the French and their determination to hold the country they were then controlling.

Independently of the rest of the English colonies, and in spite of a treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, Virginia determined to make war against the French in America and asked the other colonies to assist her in driving out the invaders. A copy of Washington's notes or journal was

George Washington carries Governor Dinwiddie's message

The French refuse to withdraw from the Ohio

Dinwiddie prepares for war

¹A messenger previously sent on the same mission by Dinwiddie had "neglected his duty" and turned back, because, as the governor expressed it, "he was afraid" to go farther.

sent to the governors of each colony, but the response was discouraging, North Carolina alone agreeing to give assistance.

42. Third War with France; Second Period, 1754-1763.—Hoping for aid from the other English colonies, Virginia began hostilities in the spring of 1754. Although an English advance force retired from western Pennsylvania, Washington really fired the first shot at some distance south of Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg). The French were defeated and captured, and their commander killed. Washington, however, heard of the approach of an overwhelming force of French and Indians and felt compelled to retire and construct a stockade, which he called Fort Necessity.² Here Washington, now lieutenant-colonel, was compelled to surrender. But his defense had been so stubborn that the terms offered him by the besieging force were most reasonable. He and his men marched back to Virginia, and the war they had begun was not to end until New France was overthrown nine years later.

Washington
forced to sur-
render, 1754

Events now followed one upon the other in the preparation by the two nations for a final struggle, not only in America, but in England and in Asia as well. In America, the royal governors, Dinwiddie of Virginia and Shirley of Massachusetts, brought forward plans for unity of action, although the royal project for the uniting of the New England colonies with those of New York and New Jersey under one executive met with strong opposition, because it was thought that the long enjoyed privileges of self-government would be endangered.

Royal plan
for colonial
union

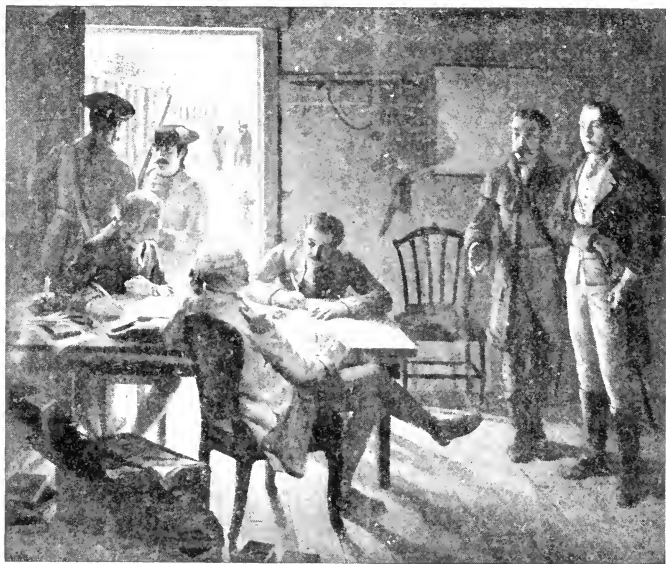
Partly because of a similar distrust, a plan of union proposed by Benjamin Franklin in a conference at Albany was rejected. Although it was not adopted, Franklin's plan is interesting in that it presented a colonial suggestion for a common government, which was to include a general congress, a

Franklin's
plan of union

² Washington's Virginians had now been joined by a body of men from South Carolina. The royal governor of that colony had curtly refused assistance on Dinwiddie's request, but the people united in equipping a force to send to his aid.

continental army, and a royal governor over all the colonies. He believed that with such a government the war with France could be prosecuted with vigor and success, since the preceding wars showed a lamentable lack of coöperation and needless losses of men and treasure.

In each colonial assembly arose an ever-recurring struggle with the royal governor, the former refusing grants of money,



By permission of the Union League, Philadelphia

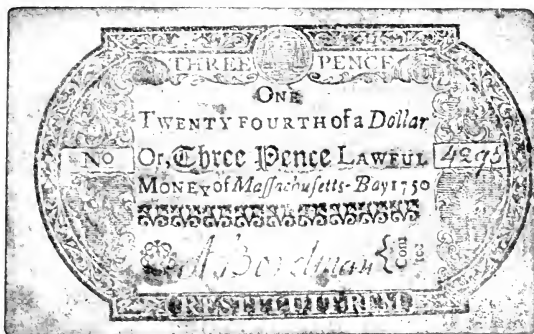
WASHINGTON PRESENTING GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S LETTER TO CHEVALIER
LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE, 1753

unless the governor would grant additional privileges. Such continual conflict for money on the one side and privileges on the other handicapped all the colonies. When one was ready to put a force in the field, the others were not prepared to coöperate. The French were not so handicapped. With a central and all-powerful government, every part of their great province must respond to the call of war. The people had no

Comparison
of resources

choice in the matter; yet such an absolute form of government could not, in the long run, stand against that of the English colonies, when finally aroused and united by a popular impulse.

The war that was thus begun in western Pennsylvania did not go well with the English at first. The colonial troops were badly commanded, and the English ministry was slow and inefficient. Nevertheless, although the French government both at home and in America was incredibly corrupt, New France was blessed with brave and brilliant leaders in the Marquis de Montcalm and some of his lieutenants. The first move made was under British auspices against Fort Duquesne. To capture that important strong-



Avery's History

THREE-PENNY NOTE OF MASSACHUSETTS

hold, General Braddock and two regiments of regular troops were sent over from England. Braddock was brave, but ignorant of the peculiar Indian and colonial methods of warfare in the forests of America. Consequently he set out from Virginia to fight in the same way that he was accustomed to fight on the plains of Europe. George Washington, who accompanied him with a number of colonial troops, warned him in vain against such a course. Braddock, however, would accept no suggestions, and making a military road mile by mile as he marched, he had nearly reached his goal when he was suddenly assailed by the French and Indians, who poured in on

Braddock's
campaign,
1755

his massed troops a deadly fire from unseen sources. The slaughter was terrible. Washington and his colonial volunteers sought to fight in true frontier fashion from behind trees and other shelter. To the brave but obstinate Braddock this style of fighting was irregular and cowardly. He urged his men to stand their ground in the open; but his army was cut to pieces and he himself was mortally wounded. The English lost over eight hundred officers and men, the French but sixty; and it was due to the coolness of Washington and his colonial troops that the remnant of the regular army was saved from destruction. This disaster gave the French undisputed command of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, in addition to nearly the whole of present Canada.³

The savage allies of the French now began to pillage and kill all along the western borders of the English settlements, as they had done some years before in New England. In Pennsylvania, the Quaker element in control, conscientiously opposed to war, would not vote for aggressive military measures, although Benjamin Franklin labored hard with some final success. The next heavy blows, however, were to fall upon New York, where even the Iroquois hesitated in their alliance with the English. In that colony, William Johnson (afterwards knighted) was fortunately popular with the Six Nations.⁴ Although his entire record as a

³ Nova Scotia (French Acadia) had been conquered previously by the English, but the inhabitants refused to obey British authority. Because, therefore, they were a constant menace to the English, the latter determined to deport the irreconcilable portion of the population. Forced to abandon their homes, the French were transported to a number of the English colonies from New England to Georgia. The provocation to the English had been very great for a number of years, but the decree of transportation fell with terrible severity on the French colonists. Longfellow's well-known "Evangeline" gives an idealized picture of the Acadian peasant and his characteristics. It has proved a popular and attractive poem, but it is far from being true to history.

⁴ The Iroquois were now styled the "*Six Nations*," because of the accession of their kindred Tuscaroras, defeated and driven out of North Carolina by the settlers there.

commander does not appear to be a brilliant one, he achieved in that quarter the single success of the campaign in a bloody and successful conflict with the French on the shore of Lake George. Much of the credit of the victory, however, should go to General Phineas Lyman and to Lieutenant-Colonel Nathan Whiting of Connecticut.

English victory at Lake George, 1755

Johnson built near the spot of the battle Fort William Henry, but failed to follow up his advantage. Because he did not march to its relief, Fort Oswego in the west fell into the hands of the French. Later, Fort William Henry was captured by the French, after which their Indian allies fell upon the prisoners and perpetrated a terrible massacre. This barbarity brought, however, its own punishment, in that it conveyed to the savage captors the germs of smallpox from the tortured victims that were suffering from or had died of that disease in the English fort; for the savages even robbed the grave to get English scalps.

French capture of Fort William Henry, 1757

Unfortunately, through court influence and Johnson's jealousy, the efficient royal Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was superseded and the blundering Governor Loudoun (successor to Dinwiddie), of Virginia, assumed command. One dismal failure followed another, until the climax was reached in the crushing defeat of the English by Montcalm at Ticonderoga, where thirteen thousand men under Abercromby and Sir William Johnson were driven back in rout through the skill of Montcalm and the blunders of the English commanders.

Montcalm defeats Johnson at Ticonderoga, 1758

But this was the last of the notable French successes. William Pitt, the greatest of England's war ministers, was now at the head of the British government. His energy was felt almost at once in Europe, in Asia, and in America, or wherever war was raging in three continents. Setting a splendid example of official honesty himself, Pitt removed corrupt subordinates and incompetent or blundering commanders. One English success followed another. Louisburg was recaptured by Generals Amherst and Wolfe, Fort Duquesne was taken and renamed Fort Pitt (later Pittsburg). Forts Niagara and Ticonderoga were

Pitt becomes Prime Minister

captured in the summer of 1759, and when Quebec surrendered in the following autumn, the French power in America fell with that powerful fortress. The story of its fall is an inspiring one and lights up with glory the names of Wolfe and Montcalm, the victor and the vanquished. Although the scene of the conflict is not on United States soil, it is connected with our colonial development and therefore merits a place in this history.

After the capture of Louisburg in 1758, the youthful General James Wolfe was sent up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec, the strongest citadel of New France. General Amherst was to help by land against Montreal, but Amherst accomplished little, and the credit for the final over-



From Chateau de Ramezay
GENERAL JAMES WOLFE

throw of New France belongs to Wolfe. Quebec had been fortified and was defended by the experienced strategist Montcalm. The cliffs were well-nigh inaccessible by land attack and too high for the range of the guns of the English fleet. It was believed that all the possible approaches had been rendered impregnable, and the summer was spent by the English in a vain attempt to find a vulnerable point for attack; but when autumn had come, and when it seemed that the Eng-

lish must retire at the approach of winter, Wolfe found a path that his army could scale in the dark of night. Making pretence of attack in many places before dawn on the 13th of September, he overpowered the unsuspecting guards at the top of the cliff and drew up on the plains of Abraham above Quebec an army of 5,000 men.

The battle that followed did not last long. The great Montcalm fell while bravely rallying his men, thanking God that he did not live to see Quebec surrender. Wolfe was mortally wounded, but when told that the English were victorious, he exclaimed that he died in peace. Quebec was now forced to surrender and Canada ultimately became a British

The French
defeated on
the plains of
Abraham

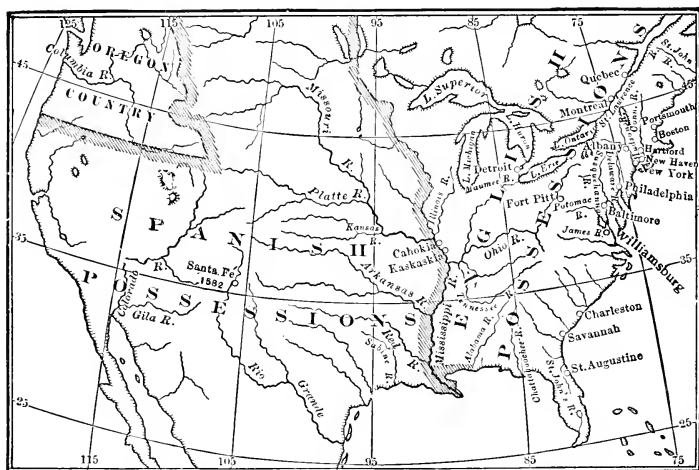
Canada be-
comes a Brit-
ish province

province. France likewise gave up, in favor of Great Britain, her claim to all the continent between the Mississippi and the Alleghenies, ceding to her ally, Spain, the country from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains.

France cedes
Louisiana to
Spain

43. Indian Wars Prior to the Revolution.—Three Indian wars marked the closing of the Anglo-French struggle. One was begun by the great chief Pontiac, who secured from many of the northern tribes a promise of concerted action for the massacre of settlers all along the borders of the middle colonies. The Indians surprised and massacred many

Pontiac's
conspiracy in
the north-
west, 1763-
1765



ENGLISH TERRITORY AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

English settlers, but some of the military outposts just secured from the French were saved by a timely warning. One of these was Detroit.

In this war there were bloody ambushes and many lives lost; but from it all one English soldier stood forth above his fellows. This was Colonel Henry Bouquet [Boo-kā] who fought and won a decisive battle with the Indians at Bushy Run in western Pennsylvania, and later conducted a successful

Colonel
Henry
Bouquet

campaign in Ohio that led to their final overthrow. Pontiac was forced to sue for peace, and he was later killed by a fellow Indian for the promised reward of a barrel of rum. Colonel Bouquet was made a brigadier-general, and was sent to the southern department. Two years later he succumbed to a fever at Pensacola, Florida, and died there in 1765.

Somewhat prior to Pontiac's war in the northwest, a conflict began between the southern colonies and the Cherokee Indians.

Rising of the
Cherokees
in the south Like Pontiac's war, it started in massacres and disaster for the colonies, but closed with defeat for the natives, and new accessions of power and territory for the whites. The worst single disaster of the conflict was the fall of Fort Loudoun in the mountains of western North Carolina, with the massacre of many of its defenders and the capture of the remainder. Finally, the British regulars and Carolinians broke the power of the Cherokees after a bloody campaign in the western part of South Carolina.

The last of these three Indian wars was the most notable and took place shortly before the American Revolution. It is important in that it is very closely connected with the progress of American colonization and the "Winning of the West." It includes the most stubbornly contested battle that red men ever fought against white men in this country. It was a war which made directly possible the settlement of Kentucky, and, later, control of the northwest by Virginia first and later by the United States.

The third Indian war in the middle west Soon after the close of the French and Indian wars, Daniel Boone and other pioneers began to cross the Alleghenies and enter the wonderful hunting grounds beyond, where buffalo, deer, and elk ranged, with "bear and turkies in abundance." Boone's reports attracted the most famous hunters of North Carolina and Virginia. But the Indians were for the most part hostile, and many white men lost their lives in ambushes. Consequently, some of the whites began to kill Indians wherever they saw them, without first finding out whether they were friendly or not. In this way the family of a friendly

chief called John Logan were killed, and the Mingoes, Shawnees, and other tribes declared war under Cornstalk, a noted chieftain of the northwest, and under Logan, now the whites' bitterest enemy.

The colony of Virginia prepared for war and sent out two forces to invade the Indian territory. Upon learning of this division of the English, Cornstalk, with instant decision and dispatch worthy of a great commander, hastened through the forest to attack the first division under General Andrew Lewis before it could unite with that commanded by Lord Dunmore. Battle of Point Pleasant, 1774 This able Indian chief and his warriors crossed the Ohio River at night, and by sunrise of October 10, 1774, fiercely attacked the English encampment at Point Pleasant. The fight lasted almost the entire day and a fifth of the English force fell before the Indians were defeated and driven off.

Up to this time, no large body of Indians had maintained a regular engagement for so long a period of steady fighting against an equal force of Englishmen. A large number of the colonial officers were killed, but some of the men who survived this great Indian battle were backwoodsmen destined utterly to defeat and capture at King's Mountain an equal number of the best troops that George III could put into the field against the colonies. General Lewis now crossed the Ohio to join Dunmore. Shortly afterwards, peace was made with the Indians, who did not attempt further to molest the settlers until some time after the beginning of the War for Independence.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. A chapter on Indian life is given at the end of the book. This chapter may be introduced here or at any appropriate point in the narrative. It may be taken up in connection with the reading of any of Cooper's "Leatherstocking Tales."

2. Consider the immense extent of the empire claimed by the French in the New World.

3. Compare their rapid expansion with the slower movements of the English.

4. What do you think of the right or reasonableness of the French claim as compared with that of the English?

5. Compare the relations between the French and the Indians with those between the English and the Indians.

6. Should you not like to single out some special event in these French and Indian wars and read a more extended account of it in a larger history or in a good encyclopædia?

7. What excellent qualities did young Major Washington show in his negotiations with the French and in his campaigns against them?

8. The limits of this chapter do not allow space to describe the tide of emigration setting in toward the west after the battle of Point Pleasant, nor is there space to give the details of the interesting campaign of Lord Dunmore and General Lewis.

ENGLISH DATES FOR REFERENCE

1689-1702. Reign of William III.

1690-1697. The War of the Palatinate (King William's War).

1701-1713. The War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War).

1702-1714. Reign of Queen Anne.

1714-1727. Reign of George I.

1727-1760. Reign of George II.

1743-1748 and 1756-1763. War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War (King George's War).

1760. Accession of George III.

CHAPTER VII

THE ENGLISH COLONIES PRIOR TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

WE cannot understand the history of the American Revolution without knowing something of the people of the colonies—their habits, customs, occupations, and conditions. These varied greatly not only in widely separated sections, but also in neighboring commonwealths.

44. Religious Differences among the Colonies.—In the colonies, prior to the Revolution, there were very important points of difference that do not exist to-day, although the effect of these differences continued for a long time, in habits of thought, social traits, and ideas of government. For instance, there were very marked differences in religious beliefs. In those days each old-world government assumed to direct or control the religious exercises of its people. In America several of the colonies were settled under wholly different religious auspices or direction, illustrated, as shown before, by the Puritan government of Massachusetts, the Episcopal domination in Virginia, and the Quaker influence in Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, although it is often stated broadly that Episcopalians and Cavaliers settled Virginia and the Puritans and Roundheads emigrated to New England, it must also be remembered that Puritans, Baptists, and Presbyterians helped to colonize Virginia, and that Cavaliers, Episcopalians and the adherents of other denominations settled in New England. In either case, the lesser element helped to liberalize and expand the whole.



Avery's History

VIRGINIA COSTUMES

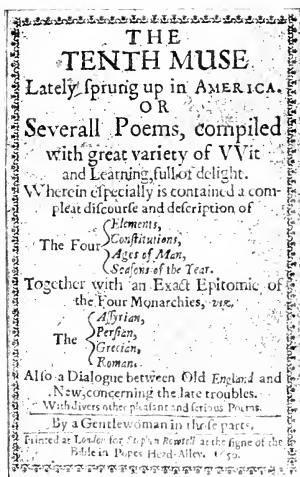
Broad generalizations misleading

It has been easy, in the description of the founding of the

various colonies, to tell of the predominating religious influence in each. But there was one great tide of emigration that did not confine itself to any one settlement, although winning for itself a distinctive place in American life and development. These were people who had emigrated to the north of Ireland from the borderland of England and Scotland shortly after the accession of James

The Scotch-Irish immigration

I as the sovereign of both countries in 1603. Hence they became known as the Scotch-Irish and they were of the Presbyterian faith. Like the New England Pilgrims, they became dissatisfied with the first land of their adoption and emigrated to America in great numbers during the first half of the eighteenth century. Finding the Atlantic seaboard already occupied, they moved westward, for the most part along the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. They were sturdy colonists and daring fighters, contributing wonderfully to the advance of English civilization along the western frontier.



Avery's History

TITLE PAGE OF POEMS OF ANNE
BRADSTREET

government, others were under the general direction of proprietors, and still others were known as royal colonies, or colonies more directly controlled by the king. Many of those that began under charter governments, as Virginia and Massachusetts, became royal colonies.

46. Variation in Industrial Pursuits.—Pursuits were largely affected by climatic conditions, by the proximity of fishing banks and of fur trade routes, and by the varying fertility of the soil.

45. Governmental Differences.—

Different as were many of the separate colonies in their religious beliefs, their forms of government were almost as distinct, although all were of English origin or subsequently under English control. Some colonies had charter

The pursuits of the northern colonists were chiefly along commercial lines, although there was a great deal of farming on a small scale; but the seasons were shorter than in the south, and the crops more difficult to raise, with less slave labor to produce them and less demand for that kind of labor. The negro was not accustomed to cold, and his maintenance in the north was more difficult and his usefulness correspondingly less than in the south. New England, indeed, so excelled in commercial pursuits that the mother country grew jealous of her success; and, strangely enough (Cf. Sec. 31), a Puritan Parliament in 1651 prepared measures intended to restrain her growth in that direction. These were renewed by Charles II on his accession to the throne in 1660. As a rule, both Puritan and Cavalier in Britain believed that colonies were created for the good of the mother country, and, if they did not directly increase her wealth, they were of little value.

For this reason the colonies were forbidden to manufacture such articles as might come into competition with those produced in Great Britain. Moreover, the ships of other nations were not permitted to bring goods to the colonies until they had first stopped in England and had paid duties there. Certain products of America were not to be sold anywhere outside of the British domain; although, by way of compensation to the colonies, these were often given a monopoly in the home markets.¹

¹ This statement of British-colonial trade regulations does not pretend to be complete. It aims to present the gist of the matter as concisely and simply as possible. See also Sec. 31.

P O E M S
ON *George Washington*
Several Occasions.

*Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, & si ex his
Saudis delectatio sola peteretur; tamen, ut quoniam, hanc
animi renovationem humanitatem & liberalissimam judi-
casset.* Cic.

By a Gentleman of VIRGINIA.

WILLIAMSBURG:
Printed and Sold by WILLIAM PAREL
MDCCLXXV.

Courtesy Boston Athenaeum

TITLE PAGE OF BOOK OF QUAINT VERSES
OWNED BY GEORGE WASHINGTON

Restrictions
on colonial
manufactures

Such were some of the laws pertaining to navigation and commerce, which were on the English statute books for over a century prior to the American Revolution; but these regulations were not strictly enforced, so that a prosperous trade sprang up along the colonial coast. James Otis, of Massachusetts, estimated that 90 per cent of the goods imported into the colonies were either smuggled or brought in with the connivance of the British customs officers. This smuggling came to be recognized as the regular method of semi-independent states to nullify the intolerant laws made by a distant parliament, in which the people of the colonies had no voice or direct influence.

47. Currency.—Intercolonial trade was greatly hampered by the variance in value of coin and notes. The coins in circulation consisted not only of English pieces but nearly every variety of foreign money as well. Coins of the same name or original value



Avery's History

AUTOGRAPH OF ANNE BRADSTREET

varied in accordance with the amount of metal that had been chipped or cut from them. Sometimes the larger coins were cut

in half. The colonies issued paper money, much of it in disregard of parliamentary regulation. These notes varied in value according to the credit of the colony issuing them, and this variance caused endless trouble.

48. Postal Service.—To-day it is such a simple matter to send a letter by mail that we do not give a thought as to how the mis-sive reaches its destination. In the colonies it was not at all certain that a letter would go safely to a destination but a few miles away, much less from one colony to another. Parliament, however, in 1710 extended the British postal service to America, and in 1753 Benjamin Franklin became the first Postmaster-General for the colonies.

49. Newspapers and Periodicals.—Of daily newspapers such as we now know there were none in the American colonies. Weekly

periodicals appeared in the more important cities from Boston to Charleston. These contained but little news and frequently did not reach some of their readers until many days or even weeks after publication.

50. Literature.—There were a great many writers of anonymous broadsides and political pamphlets and arguments, but there were few writers who could be called authors. Notable among these few were Jonathan Edwards, theologian; Benjamin Franklin, editor, philosopher and scientist; and William Byrd, philosopher and humorist. Poetry, or verses that could bear that name, first appeared in the southern colonies. Parts of an excellent poetical translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were written at Jamestown by George Sandys. But in the south there existed an objection to following literature as a profession and even to the publicity of authorship. The title page of a book of American verses owned by George Washington bore no clue of authorship other than that they were "By a gentleman of Virginia."



Avery's History
TOOTH EXTRACTOR

51. Education.—Education was more generally diffused in the northern than in the southern colonies. This is especially true of New England. The first of our present American colleges was founded at Cambridge, in 1636, as a high school where the sons of Puritan fathers might receive in the New World the benefits of education and moral guidance. In the south, education was not so general, due very largely to the fact that the population was more scattered and the towns small or of little consequence. Those who could afford to do so provided tutors for their own and sometimes their neighbors' children, or sent their sons to English schools and universities; but there were also, throughout the rural south, a number of "old field schools," which played an important part in the early education of a number of soldiers and statesmen of the eighteenth and

Founding of
the first col-
leges

nineteenth centuries.² William and Mary, the second of our existing colleges, was founded at Williamsburg in 1693. Its earlier history is unique for the large proportion of its students who achieved distinction in the making of the republic.³ The growth in the number and influence of the colleges in the northern colonies, where population was more concentrated, was noteworthy, so that students were attracted to them from all the colonies. After the establishment of Harvard there followed in the order given: Yale, in Connecticut (1701); Princeton, in New Jersey (1746); Pennsylvania (1749); Columbia, in New York (1754); and Brown, in Rhode Island (1764).



Avery's History

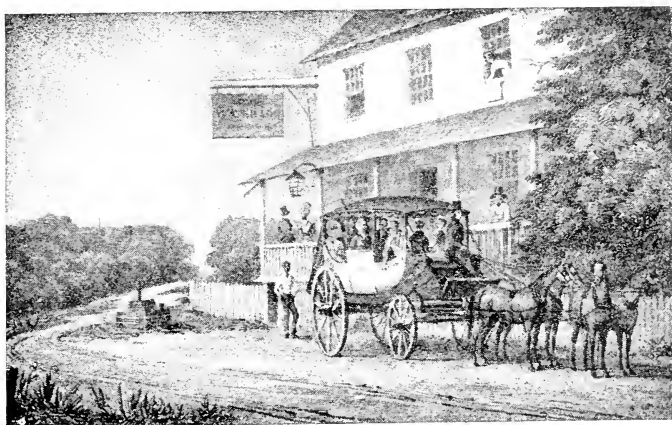
SURGEON'S SAW

52. Social Customs.—Owing to the fact that communication between the colonies was slow and difficult, each preserved for a long period its peculiar characteristics in manners and social customs. The divisions of society were very marked in colonial days. We naturally associate more of the spirit of democracy with New England on account of her small estates, community life, commercial pursuits, and general edu-

² Not long after the Revolution George Washington endowed one of these schools. This was Liberty Hall Academy in the Valley of Virginia, since grown into Washington and Lee University. It has been pointed out, to the credit of the rural schools, that George Washington received his training in them, while his elder brothers were educated abroad.

³ William and Mary educated three Presidents of the United States: Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler; it also educated Chief Justice Marshall, besides several score of United States Senators, Representatives, and Federal judges and governors of various States. During the first half of the nineteenth century, it began to be eclipsed in its own State by the educational foundations of Thomas Jefferson in the University of Virginia (1819).

cational system; yet even in that section the people sat in church according to their rank or social standing, beginning with the upper classes in the front pews to the humbler folk in the rear. Slaves and indentured servants sat farthest back or in the gallery. The same rule applied to students in college, and for one hundred years the Harvard catalogue listed its students not in alphabetical order, but according to their recognized social position. In some of the colonies, people were forbidden by law to dress above their position in life. On the whole, it may be said that the middle



COLONIAL STAGE COACH

colonies, excepting New York with its large landowners, observed these distinctions less than any of the others, a difference due, in part, to Quaker influences.

In the south, families lived far apart and acquired estates according to ability in management or success in raising crops. Other than Charleston, a seaport that had an early growth and an extensive trade, there were no cities corresponding in size to those in the northern and the middle colonies. The southern colonies were almost wholly given over to agricultural pursuits. The more prosperous farmers were called planters, and their estates became known as plantations. Owing to this

In the south

open-air mode of life, physical hardihood and manly virtues were emphasized. Sports of all kinds were encouraged, the majority of them being healthful and innocent, although some were brutal, such as cock fighting. The entire people were given to hospitality to an extent that would be impossible to-day. There were no inns or hotels worthy of the name. The stranger was met at the door and welcomed to the home, whether it was the one-room cabin of the mountaineer or the mansion of a planter owning many hundreds of acres. This habit of hospitality and the maintenance of their farm lands kept even the wealthiest planter at work; and the women, in caring for the household and their slave dependents, had, perhaps, even greater responsibilities than the men.

53. Agriculture.—Methods of farming were incredibly rude and primitive. Even so important an implement of agriculture as the plow was made of wood. Little or nothing was known of improving or properly cultivating the soil; hence, if its fertility became exhausted, old fields were abandoned to make new clearings from the woodlands. Timber was recklessly cut down and much of it was wasted, while enormous fireplaces consumed huge logs in a single winter day. The sickle was used to cut the wheat, and the flail to thresh it, except when it was trodden out by horses.

54. Roads and Travel.—The roads in all the colonies were wretched and travel was difficult, if not, at times, impossible. Stage coaches were provided, particularly in the north; but should one of these heavy vehicles become stuck in the mud, the passengers were expected to get out in the mire and help the horses as best they could by pushing or pulling. From New York to Philadelphia in three days was the proudest boast of speed in all the colonies, and was accomplished by relays of horses and only in good weather.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. It should be an interesting exercise to study the peculiar development of some one of the original colonies and compare it with others.

2. The individual self-government of the colonies is a topic capable of indefinitely extended illustration.

3. By 1718 the Carolinas were exporting over 80,000 barrels of pitch and tar to the mother country. Virginia and Maryland had almost a monopoly of the English trade in tobacco. New England enjoyed an expanding trade in lumber, fish, and rum. South Carolina was beginning to export increasing quantities of rice and indigo. The iron industry was being developed in Pennsylvania. An extensive fur trade was carried on through the port of New York.

4. Try to imagine the difficulties of buying and selling when scarcely any two people offered the same kind of money, and when, on account of clipping and underweight, scarcely two pieces of money of the same name and denomination had the same value. At the present time would a dollar cut in two be accepted as the equivalent of two half-dollars?

5. Imagine some of the difficulties of the letter service of pre-Revolutionary days.

6. Private letters spread the news of public interest that the modern newspapers present, while the newspapers of those days were badly printed chronicles full of the writings of anonymous contributors.

7. Imagine a trip from New York to Baltimore on the "dirt" roads of colonial times. (Sydney George Fisher, Alice M. Farle, and other writers have prepared interesting volumes on colonial home life, customs, and modes of travel.)

CHAPTER VIII

PERIOD OF CONTROVERSY WITH THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

55. Causes of Disagreement between the Colonies and the Mother Country.—We have now come to a consideration of the causes of the war between the colonists and the mother country, known as the American Revolution. These causes cannot be summed up simply in the oft-quoted phrase, “taxation without representation.” The truth is that each of the colonies had its own system of taxation and representation in America, and none of them wanted either to be taxed by or represented in a British parliament three thousand miles away. Each colony was a commonwealth governing itself to a greater or less degree as the people of each had been able to secure or demand this self-government under their charters, proprietors, or royal governors. In fact, from the first, the colonies had surpassed the mother country in extending the principles of popular government. They were willing to acknowledge no authority but that of a majority of their own voters.

In the preceding narrative we have seen that the American colonies secured and successfully maintained separate representative governments. Now, when king and Parliament, in spite of the protest of a considerable body of the British people, attempted to assert an authority that neither had exercised during the period of colonial expansion, the colonies vigorously protested. At first the colonies wished to maintain their allegiance to the British empire, chiefly through their original relations with their common sovereign. But Parliament, since 1689, had assumed much of the power that once was wielded by the king; and George III, who had ascended the throne in 1760, was obstinately bent on asserting the absolute control of Britain over her colonies. Neither the king nor Parliament realized how fully self-government had been practised in

the thirteen American colonies; yet all English history showed that when once a measure of liberty was gained by English people, it was never willingly or permanently surrendered.

In a vague way, George III and Parliament realized that in the very devotion to self-government displayed by the colonies there lay a weakness. They thought that the distinctly separate governments and the individual differences between the colonies would make them less likely to unite in a common plan of opposition to British control.

Separate colonial governments a source of colonial weakness

Parliament was willing, for instance, to flatter Virginia while it crushed Massachusetts; but Virginia, with farsighted wisdom, made the cause of Massachusetts equally her own in a general resistance to tyranny. Nevertheless, the love of individual self-government in those days of difficult communication was so great that none of the colonies was any more willing to grant power to a united government of their own, in which they all had representatives, than they were to acknowledge the authority of the British Parliament in which none of them was represented. Their resistance to British rule all but failed on account of the weakness of colonial confederation.

Before entering upon the actual narrative of the Revolution, it is proper to observe that a large body of the English people were warmly opposed to coercing the colonies. This opposition sentiment found eloquent but ineffectual expression in Parliament in the protests of Pitt and Fox; of Barré, who gave to Americans the phrase, "Sons of Liberty;" and of Burke, whose speech "On Conciliation" is studied as one of the famous orations of history.

On the other hand, not all the colonists favored armed resistance to Britain; and when this resistance began to point toward



PATRICK HENRY

Born Hanover Co., Va., May 29, 1736. Advocate of colonial rights; first governor of Commonwealth of Virginia, 1776; Commissioned George Roger Clark to raise troops for the winning of the northwest. Opposed adoption of Constitution; urged adoption of first ten amendments thereto. Died 1799.

British opposition to governmental coercion

American independence, they recoiled in horror from the idea of disunion. Many persons thought that Parliament would repeal its unwise enactments, or that a new ministry might at any time come into power with more liberal ideas. There were thousands of loyalists in every one of the English colonies. Some of these supported the British for selfish and base purposes, but partisan feeling was so intense that little discrimination between them was made by the patriot majority. All loyalists or "Tories," as they came to be called, were distrusted as traitors or possible traitors to the cause of American liberty. They were often terribly persecuted; but, allied with the Indians, the Tories sometimes revenged themselves savagely, and the war caused bitter enmities between former friends and neighbors.¹

Nevertheless, the "habit of American self-government" overcame the feeling of loyalty to the British flag when British domination meant loss of liberty, although events hastened disunion more quickly than the patriot party had hoped for or had anticipated. We have seen, for example, how the colony of Virginia as early as 1619 established a representative assembly to make laws for the government of the colony. From this time to the Revolutionary War there was a constant assertion of the rights of the people, and of the colony, as against royal pleasure or parliamentary encroachment. There were, as in all movements for the betterment of the human race, periods of reaction, illustrated by the rule of Governor Berkeley and the favored friends of the fur trade monopoly; but there was a Bacon to meet a Berkeley, and although Bacon perished, the principles of this "first rebellion" lived on until another century, when the greatest and most liberal of all exponents of human

Instances of
self - govern-
ment

In Virginia

¹ There is a story to the effect that when Lord Fairfax, the friend and early patron of George Washington, learned that the former Major Washington was about to take up arms against the British flag, the news proved too great a shock for him to bear, and brought on a fatal illness at "Greenway Court," his home in Virginia.

rights arose in Thomas Jefferson. Virginia had agreed to yield a nominal allegiance to the parliamentary form of government established in 1649, only on condition that she should be "free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatsoever," and that none were to be imposed without the consent of her own House of Burgesses.²

Massachusetts, as we have seen, was similarly independent. She endowed with almost autocratic power a church that was well-nigh outlawed in England; and, reversing the order of things, denied civil rights to the adherents of the established church of the mother country. She coined money, and, from time to time, sent back to Britain governors whom she thought over-meddlesome in the management of her affairs. At least on one occasion, under the rule of Charles II, she prepared to resist by force, if necessary, threatened encroachments upon her long-confirmed liberty of action. What happened in these two powerful colonies was, in the main, typical of what went on in many others. It may be safely said that in all of them the colonists had developed a representative form of government which, at that time, the English people themselves did not enjoy to the same degree.

Both king and Parliament regarded their colonies as dependencies worthy of consideration only as they directly contributed to the wealth of the mother country. Hence, laws had been made to regulate colonial trade so as to bring a balance of money into Britain; and now, at the close of the war with France, Parliament felt itself free to enforce these laws. The Spanish colonies had furnished to Spain millions in gold and silver from their mines, so it was thought that the British colonies should furnish like returns to Britain through the regulation of their trade and industries.

² The charter of the colony of Maryland provided that the people, and their lands and goods, were forever exempt from taxation by the king. (Cf. Sec. 23.)

This was the generally accepted view of colonial dependencies throughout the world prior to the American Revolution. It is only fair to the British government to add that its policy was more liberal than that of any other European country. If, for instance, laws were passed to secure a monopoly in Britain of the colonial output in tobacco, at the same time other laws were passed pro-

hibiting the sale of any but the colonial product. A number of the raw products of the American colonists were thus enjoying a monopoly of the British market. On the other hand, the colonists were forbidden to manufacture such things as came into competition with British manufactures. This regulation worked against colonial development, but built up a vast carrying trade between the colonies and Great Britain. Moreover, colonial commerce received the protection of British warships and the benefit of large investments of British capital.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Born Boston, Mass., Jan. 17, 1706; moved to Philadelphia and became a printer and journalist; prominent in drawing up Declaration of Independence; represented the Confederated States at Paris, securing French treaty; President of Pennsylvania after the Revolution; member of Constitutional Convention; scientist and philosopher; died in Philadelphia, 1790.

The most objectionable laws enacted by the British parliament were the Navigation Acts, the first of which were passed as early as 1651 and re-enacted and changed at the time of the Restoration and in later enactments. Reference has already been made to these,³ the purpose of which was to

restrict colonial exports and imports in favor of British commerce. Thus imposts were fixed and prices set in London over which the colonists had no control. The rigid enforcement of these laws at any period of colonial development might either have prevented that development or have forced the colonists into open resistance. But the laws were evaded or ignored and commerce went on almost undisturbed. Not only did

The Navigation Acts evaded or ignored, 1651-1764

³ Cf. Sec. 31.

the customs officers wink at what was going on, but even prime ministers, like Walpole and Pitt, did nothing to enforce legislation so likely to be injurious to the trade of the American colonies.⁴ The year 1764, however, marked the end of the "let-alone" policy. In equal measure, it marked the beginning of the colonial struggle for continued liberty of action which was to end in complete independence under State and Federal government.

56. Attempted Enforcement of Trade Laws, 1764.—The Treaty of Paris in 1763 marked the close of the series of wars with France which had involved Europe and had won America for Britain, as far west as the Mississippi and from the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. The expense of these wars had been a heavy drain on the British treasury and the nation was deeply in debt. British ministers began to look to the colonists for help in the payment of this debt. They argued that a great deal of British money had been expended in the colonial wars; that British soldiers were even then engaged in fighting frontier battles against Pontiac and his Indian allies; that the colonies should pay part of the debt contracted through the prosecution of these wars; and that they should help defray the expense of a small standing army in America.



JOHN HANCOCK

Born Braintree, Mass., Jan. 23, 1737. Colonial leader; president of Continental Congress that drew up Declaration of Independence; first governor of Massachusetts under State Constitution, 1780. Died 1793.

First of all, the almost prohibitory tax or tariff on colonial importation was taken off and one that was half as high substituted for it. But this tax was to be enforced, and the colonists correctly figured that three pence paid was a heavier tax than six pence which was generally unpaid. The tax affected New England particularly, and a meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, in which Samuel Adams prepared in-

Protest
voiced by
Samuel Adams at Faneuil Hall

⁴ Cf. Sec. 46.

structions for presentation at the general court, in the course of which he asserted that this proposed policy of Parliament threatened to annihilate "*our Charter Right to govern and tax ourselves.*" He then suggested some form of colonial union, the better to resist such encroachments upon American liberties.⁵

57. The Stamp Act Passed, 1765.—The second proceeding of the Grenville ministry was to propose a Stamp Act to defray the expense of the soldiers in the colonies. A year was given for its discussion or for anyone to bring forward a measure likely to be more agreeable to the colonies. None was brought forward, and the Stamp Act was passed in 1765 with little accompanying discussion. Few seemed to think that it would arouse serious opposition in America. Even Benjamin Franklin, Richard Henry Lee, and other Americans who had been brought into contact with the English court sought for themselves or their friends positions as stamp-distributors. The Stamp Act provided that all official and public documents, such as wills and mortgages, newspapers and pamphlets should be provided with stamps prepared by the English government, and purchased from the officials appointed for their distribution.

But the Stamp Act, as a measure of taxation in opposition to colonial ideas of self-government and self-taxation, met with violent opposition in America. Patrick Henry rose in the Virginia House of Burgesses and made an impassioned speech against it which brought forth cries of "treason" from the more conservative members of the house. Nevertheless, most of the resolutions proposed by Henry passed. One of these resolutions denied that Parliament had the right to tax the colony of Virginia. That, said Henry, was the exclusive right of the Assembly of Virginia, together with its governor as the representative of the king.

Patrick
Henry urges
resistance

⁵ Protests against threatened parliamentary encroachment upon colonial rights and self-government had been made by James Otis of Massachusetts in 1761, and by Patrick Henry of Virginia in 1763.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. If the student's impressions of Sec. 55 are clear, he will understand not only the causes of the revolt of the English-American colonies, but he will grasp a great deal more than that—he will better comprehend the origin and dual nature of the United States government as illustrated in its State and Federal spheres.

2. The colonies were jealous of one another from religious, political, and commercial reasons. Many campaigns planned or directed against the French and Indians failed for lack of coöperation. Contrast this attitude with the spirit in which the people in all the colonies rallied to the aid of Massachusetts when the question of local self-government was involved.

3. Why were the colonies jealous of any government that they themselves might unite in creating? This is another matter of first importance toward a clear understanding of United States history.

4. The student is probably familiar with the general tenor of Edmund Burke's "Speech on Conciliation" with the American colonies. Suppose the king and Parliament had heeded Burke's views?

5. Incidents from the history of Virginia and Massachusetts are given as examples of self-government. Perhaps the student will be interested in finding additional illustrations in the history of the other colonies.

6. Try to understand the point of view of the British government with regard to the colonies; for instance, as to raising money to defray the expense of the French and Indian war, the destruction of the tea, etc.

CHAPTER IX

PERIOD OF CONTROVERSY WITH BRITISH PARLIAMENT—BEGINNINGS OF INTERCOLONIAL UNION

58. First United Action of the Colonies.—Patrick Henry had “rung the alarm bell” for the continent, and the Massachusetts Assembly responded by proposing a conference of representatives from all the colonies. After some of the colonies had refused their assent to such a conference, the motion of Massachusetts was seconded by South Carolina under the leadership of Christopher Gadsden; while the speaker of the North Carolina assembly said boldly that the execution of the Stamp Act would be resisted to the death.¹

Consequently, what is known as the Stamp Act Congress met in New York in October, 1765. In the name of nine of the colonies it addressed to the king and to both houses of Parliament able and dignified protests against the infringement of their long-enjoyed right to tax themselves through their own representative bodies. New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia were not officially represented; but messages of encouragement and support came from the people of those colonies. The leading spirits of this assemblage were James Otis of Massachusetts and John Dickinson of Pennsylvania.

Other bodies of protestants against the act were formed in many of the colonies under the title of “Sons of Liberty.” One of the purposes of these bodies was to intimidate the stamp distributors and to prevent the execution of the act. November 1, the day that the act was to go into effect, was made a day of mourning. But, owing to the exertions of the

Stamp Act
Congress is-
sues protest

Popular op-
position

¹ The county court of Frederick, Maryland, declared that the stamp tax, being contrary to the charter of the colony, should be disregarded.

"Sons of Liberty," no stamp distributors could be found, and no stamps were to be had. The Stamp Act was rendered inoperative by the united opposition of the people.

59. Repeal of the Stamp Act.—In England, Pitt denounced the Act and it was repealed by Parliament in the following spring. The news of its repeal was received with almost equal demonstrations of joy on either side of the ocean; for the mercantile interests of Britain had suffered greatly by colonial agreements not to import or use English-made goods. Parliament, however, re-announced its legislative right to tax the colonies, and in the general rejoicing no protest was heard from America. New York and some of the other colonies continued to withhold supplies from British troops. Massachusetts did not wish to pay for the damage done to individuals in the stamp riots, yet in every colony there were open manifestations of loyalty to the British-colonial tie in the common acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the king.

60. Parliament Passes other Taxation Measures.—The satisfaction resulting from the repeal of the Stamp Act was disturbed by the determination of the new Townshend ministry to force through other acts for the raising of revenue by the imposition of taxes or tariffs. These measures were cleverly enacted under the guise of plans for regulating trade, a form of control which the colonists had conceded or submitted to in return for naval protection of merchant ships. But the whole attitude of the English ministry showed a desire to tax the colonies without their consent, and the Stamp Act had aroused a spirit of opposition and distrust in America. Consequently, when the Townshend acts were passed in 1767, the colonists were suspicious and ready to resist any taxing measures that were proposed. These acts provided special tariffs or imposts on certain articles, among which were glass, paper, and tea. A second act provided for the appointment of special revenue officers for America; while a third act forbade the New York Assembly to pass laws until it should provide for the maintenance of British soldiers.

The Townshend Acts, 1767

Subsequent to the passage of these acts, there were three years of steady resistance by the colonists, which took the form of

Opposition in the colonies agreements on their part not to import or use the articles which were taxed. Sometimes this resistance led to rioting. A notable instance of this occurred in 1768, when revenue commissioners were obliged to flee to the protection of a

In Massachusetts war ship in the harbor of Boston. Thereupon four regiments of British soldiers were quartered in that city. This aroused the people, and there were clashes between troops and citizens. The worst of these encounters occurred on March 5, 1770, when the soldiers, being attacked by a mob, fired into the crowd, killing five and wounding others.² New York

In New York had similar trouble in the preceding January. Rioting extended over two days subsequent to an attempt of the soldiers to cut down a liberty pole, during which one citizen lost

In North Carolina his life and many others were wounded. In North Carolina constant clashes between tyrannical governors and the people had led to the formation of a band of "Regulators" in lawless resistance to arbitrary taxation. The royal governor, Tryon, set out with a large force to suppress them; a pitched battle ensued, and the badly armed Regulators were defeated. Nine of Tryon's soldiers were killed, and at least a score of the Regulators. Seven of the latter were afterwards summarily hanged as an example to others.³

² Excitement and intense feeling magnified this street fight to such an extent that it became known as "The Boston Massacre." The soldiers were tried according to due process of law, and, greatly to the credit of Boston, were, for the most part, acquitted on the ground that they had acted in self-defense. John Adams and Josiah Quincy defended the "red-coats," an act which required moral courage of a very high order.

³ This conflict occurred at Great Alamance Creek, May 16, 1771; and, on account of the number of those on either side and the use of cannon, the conflict is sometimes referred to as the "Battle of Alamance." The number of Regulators killed in this encounter has, in some accounts, been estimated at 200.

The following year, 1772, some of the citizens of Rhode Island captured and destroyed one of the British vessels that had been active in collecting duties from ships coming into the port of Providence. The British revenue officers were ^{In Rhode Island} powerless to apprehend or punish those connected with this defiance of authority, although it was generally believed that they were well known in the community. In fact, affairs had reached such a crisis that if any attempt had been made to arrest and punish those resisting parliamentary enactments, open fighting would have resulted.

61. Parliament vs. Colonial Assemblies.—A battle of resolutions followed these acts, resolutions on the part of Parliament denouncing them, and calling for the arrest of their perpetrators; and, on the other hand, resolutions by colonial assemblies, denying the right of Parliament to pass laws for the government of the colonies without the consent of the latter. In many cases, colonial assemblies were dismissed or prorogued by the royal governors.

62. Summary.—In the preceding pages it has been seen that Parliament had passed the Stamp Act in 1765, repealing it in response to general objection in 1766. It announced, however, its right to tax the colonies. This was the first step. The second step came in the Townshend Acts, which, among other provisions, declared taxes on certain articles. This was met by non-importation agreements on the part of the colonies for three years.

63. The Tea Tax.—Parliament now took another step, seemingly as ill-advised as the others. This time it removed the tax from all articles except tea, and the rate on that was purposely made so low that the colonists could get their tea at less cost than they had been getting it through smuggling. Parliament hoped by this plan to establish its right to tax the colonies without objections from them; but the measure did not deceive the Americans, who were just as shrewd as the English, and who saw the purpose of the act.

Everywhere the importation of tea was resented or resisted. At Boston, on the night of December 16, 1773, a party of men, disguised as Indians, boarded the tea ships in the harbor and threw

the obnoxious tea overboard. At Annapolis, a number of the citizens of the town and the surrounding country openly compelled the owner of a vessel of imported tea to burn the ship with its entire cargo. In Charleston the tea was seized, and, subsequent to the Declaration of Independence, sold to defray the expenses of the State in the Revolutionary War. In Philadelphia and New York, the people resolved that the tea should not be landed, and turned the ships away.

In England these acts were regarded as acts of insurrection or rebellion, involving the lawless destruction of private property worth many thousands of pounds. It was an open defiance of British authority. The colonists of Boston and Massachusetts had now made themselves particularly odious to the king and Parliament. In the matter of the tea they had done no more than the people in several other colonies,

but their action with regard to the tea capped the climax of a long series of difficulties between the people of the colony and the authorities of the mother country in politics, religion, and trade.

64. Parliament Passes the "Intolerable Acts."—Consequently, in 1774, Parliament passed five measures which became known as the "Intolerable Acts;" four of these were aimed at Massachusetts in particular, while the fifth limited the western boundaries of all the colonies north of the Carolinas. The first of these acts was the Boston Port Bill, which declared Boston harbor closed to commerce until the tea destroyed there was paid for; the second was the Massachusetts Government Act, which was intended to deprive the people of Massachusetts of a great measure of the self-



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Born West Indies, Jan. 11, 1757; educated at King's College, N. Y.; became, at 17, a colonial leader; served in Continental army with marked success, promoted to staff of Washington; leader in Constitutional Convention; first Secretary of Treasury under Washington; was mortally wounded by Aaron Burr in duel, July 11, 1804.

government that they had hitherto enjoyed; the third was the Administration of Justice Act, which provided that all magistrates,

revenue officers, and soldiers accused of murder or other capital crimes incurred in the execution of their official duties were to be tried in Britain or Nova Scotia; the fourth was an act providing for the quartering of British troops on the people; and the fifth of these "Intolerable Acts" was that known as the Quebec Act, which provided that all the British territory west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio was to be included in the province of Quebec.

Although, as shown above, four of these acts were directed principally against Boston and Massachusetts, the other colonies, from motives of self-interest as well as for patriotic reasons, made the cause of Massachusetts their own; for, if Massachusetts were compelled to submit, the rest of the British-American colonies would be forced, one after another, to yield to the control of the British Parliament. Hence, the effect of these laws was to draw the colonies into a bond of common sympathy and united effort. This was shown by the aid which was immediately sent to Boston from all parts of the country, in the form of provisions and money, the first help coming from distant South Carolina, which colony sent 200 barrels of its staple product, rice. In Virginia and Pennsylvania the day that the Boston Port Bill went into effect was made a day of fasting and prayer.

The British government determines to make an example of the Massachusetts colony

65. The First Continental Congress, 1774.—As Massachusetts had once led in asking for coöperation among the colonists, so now Virginia took the lead in declaring for a general conference. Other calls for coöperation from a number of colonies resulted in the meeting, on September 5, 1774, of the first Continental Congress, which was composed of delegates from all the colonies except Georgia.⁴ The Congress announced the right of the colonies to govern and tax themselves, and definitely recorded its opposition to the acts of Parliament which infringed upon these rights. The members prepared two petitions, one to the people of Great Britain, and one to the king.

Important declarations of the first Continental Congress

⁴ The royal governor of Georgia succeeded in preventing the appointment of delegates.

In addition, the Congress drew up an agreement not to sell to or buy from British merchants until the objectionable acts were repealed by Parliament. It commended the people of Massachusetts for their resistance, and declared that if Parliament should use force to compel Massachusetts to submit, the other colonies would make the cause of Massachusetts their own. The Congress then adjourned to meet in the following May.

66. Rapid Progress of Events in Massachusetts.—Events were now approaching a crisis. In Massachusetts there was practically



BRITISH RETREAT FROM CONCORD

a suspension of royal government. Gloucester had been made the port of entry of Massachusetts instead of Boston, and Salem the seat of government. General Gage was in charge of the troops quartered in Boston, and although he was the regularly appointed governor in Massachusetts, his authority was not recognized beyond the limits of his military command.

Early in 1775 General Gage had received instructions to arrest some of the prominent leaders of the patriot party, among whom were Samuel Adams and John Hancock. These leaders had prudently taken up their residence at Lexington instead of in Boston,

subsequent to their return from the meeting of the Continental Congress in 1774. It was also the intention of General Gage to seize military stores that the Americans had collected at Concord, a few miles beyond Lexington. A body of 800 troops was accordingly dispatched early in the morning of April 19, 1775, to accomplish the double purpose of arresting Adams and Hancock and of seizing supplies at Concord. The march was to be made secretly, but the first movement of the troops in Boston was detected; so that Paul Revere and William Dawes, pickets or watchmen of the minutemen, were enabled to set out in advance on a midnight ride to warn the people of their coming.⁵

67. Lexington and Concord, 1775.—Adams and Hancock received timely notice and escaped arrest. The British soldiers found the country thoroughly aroused and sent back word to Boston for reinforcements. At daybreak, on the village green at Lexington, Major Pitcairn found Captain John Parker and 70 minutemen assembled. Pitcairn rode up and exclaimed: "Disperse, ye rebels, disperse!" The minutemen refused to obey, and the soldiers fired with fatal effect. It is not known whether the British soldiers fired through a mistake or by orders, or whether the minutemen first prepared to fire, but 7 Americans were killed and 10 wounded as the result of the first encounter between American militia and British regulars.

The British soldiers continued their march to Concord. Here they were opposed by 400 militiamen, who began the fighting near that place. But the whole countryside was awake to the invasion, and minutemen swarmed from all directions "like angry bees from overturned hives;" so that the British commander ordered a retreat to Boston. A steady fire was directed upon the troops as they at first marched and then ran. The weather was unusually warm for a day in April, and the soldiers suffered from

⁵ After he had reached Lexington and had warned Adams and Hancock, Revere was captured and taken to Lexington by the British, but Dawes rode on to Concord.

the heat. Scores of them fell on the road as the minutemen fired at them from houses, trees, and fences along the route. So deadly was this attack that only the timely arrival of reinforcements and artillery from Boston saved the troops from annihilation. The British loss has been variously estimated to have been from 178 to 400. The American loss was 49 killed and 36 wounded.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Note carefully what is said in Sec. 58 of the appeal to Parliament by the Stamp Act Congress. There was no expression of any wish for representation. James Otis had written in 1764 ("The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved") that every part of His Majesty's dominions "*has the right to be represented* in the supreme or some subordinate legislature;" but because of the distance between the colonies and the mother country, and for other reasons, it was better that there should be in Parliament "*neither colonial representation nor colonial taxation.*"

2. Compare the troubles and conflicts occurring prior to the Revolution in Boston, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island.

3. Imagine the effect on British trade and commerce of the colonial non-importation agreements.

4. Compare the reception accorded the tea in the different cities of the Atlantic seaboard.

5. Patrick Henry, in opposing the Stamp Act (May, 1765), declared before the Virginia House of Burgesses: "Cæsar had his Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George the Third" (here Henry was interrupted by cries of "Treason!" from the Speaker and other Burgesses, but he concluded)—"and George the Third may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." Again, he said, in perhaps the most famous of his speeches, which was delivered March 23, 1775: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains or slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

CHAPTER X

FIRST PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION—ARMED RESISTANCE TO PARLIAMENT

68. The Battle of Bunker Hill, 1775.—The colonists were not fighting for independence, but war had begun, and a counterstroke to the Concord raid was promptly planned by the Americans. In a few days General Gage was besieged in Boston by an army of militia numbering from 12,000 to 15,000 men. On the British side, Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived with reinforcements, making a total of about 10,000 regulars.

The Americans now determined to seize Bunker Hill on the Charlestown peninsula. Thither 1200 men were dispatched on the night of June 16 under Colonel Prescott, who began to fortify Breed's Hill, which was nearer the city. In the morning the British discovered that the Americans had thrown up intrenchments and were threatening their control of Boston.¹

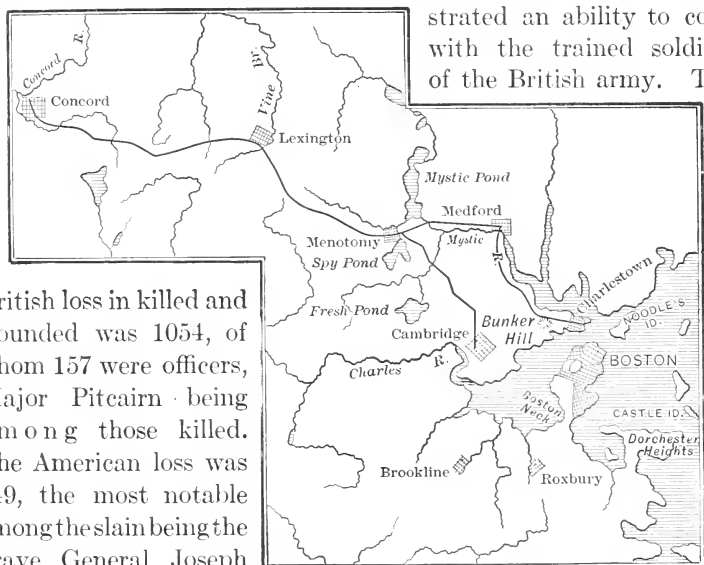
Three thousand "redcoats," under General Howe, were sent to make a frontal attack on the Americans, with the evident expectation that the untrained militia would fire a volley and flee at their approach. The Americans were badly armed and inadequately supplied with powder, but they had decided upon an unusual plan to make the most of what they had. Orders were given not to fire until the long, steady lines of redcoats were almost upon them. Then, at the command, a leaden storm broke over the British troops, killing many and driving the rest, demoralized, down the hill. At the bottom their officers reorganized them,

¹ The fight has gone into history as the battle of Bunker Hill. The "Bunker Hill" monument, marking the field of battle, is on Breed's Hill. In some of the older historical books, such as Graham's *Life of General Morgan*, we find "Breed's Hill" exclusively.

and again they marched up to the American intrenchments. Again the Americans mowed them down with steady aim, only to see them re-form and prepare for the third charge. This time the British were successful, and the Americans, insufficiently supplied with powder, were driven off the Charlestown peninsula.

Although the conflict resulted in final defeat for the Americans, its conduct inspired the colonial troops with confidence and demon-

strated an ability to cope with the trained soldiers of the British army. The



British loss in killed and wounded was 1054, of whom 157 were officers, Major Pitcairn being among those killed. The American loss was 449, the most notable among the slain being the brave General Joseph Warren of Boston.²

BOSTON AND VICINITY

69. The Second Continental Congress, 1775.—In the meantime, on the 10th of May, 1775, the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. Colonial opposition had now gone so far that it was necessary for this Congress to assume some general authority over all the colonies with, of course,

Acts of Sec-
ond Congress

² Ticonderoga and other forts along the Vermont-New York border were surprised and captured by Colonels Ethan Allen of Vermont and Benedict Arnold of Connecticut. The cannon captured in these forts were of incalculable value to the American forces.

the consent of the representatives of each. Among the first things that the Congress did was to adopt the forces around Boston as the Continental army, the term "Continental" now coming into use to represent the colonies acting collectively. It appointed Washington commander-in-chief, issued paper money, and called for additional troops. Congress, however, still acknowledged the king of England as its lawful head, and thus there ensued a conflict between the American Congress and the



BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, FROM PICTURE BY TRUMBULL, IN THE YALE COLLEGE GALLERY

British Parliament for one year; but as George III was found to be irrevocably on the side of Parliament, Congress and the colonies were soon forced to declare themselves wholly independent.

This Second Continental Congress was composed of very able men. Washington was there with his calm counsel and unselfish patriotism. Accompanying him from Virginia were Thomas Jefferson, the future author of the Declaration of Independence, and the eloquent and fiery Patrick Henry.

Membership
of the Con-
gress

Pennsylvania sent Benjamin Franklin, who had represented the cause of the colonies in Britain, and Robert Morris, who became known as the "financier of the Revolution." Massachusetts sent John Hancock, president of the Congress; John Adams, afterwards President of the United States; and Samuel Adams, a popular leader of the patriot cause.

70. Washington Takes Command of the Continental Forces.—

Washington took up his duties as commander-in-chief of the Continental forces on July 2, 1775, and at once began the difficult task of forming an effective fighting organization out of raw colonial militia. Although American privateers had already begun to capture supply ships from England, the lack of the essentials of The first Continental flag war rendered Washington's position perilous for many months. At this time a Continental flag was adopted, which was composed of thirteen alternate red and white stripes to represent the colonies, and the double cross of the British flag to represent their continued allegiance to the king. The Continental army adopted a uniform of blue and buff, although as a rule the soldiers wore hunting shirts, which were dyed brown. Shortly after his arrival at the intrenchments around Boston, Washington began to lay plans for the closer investment of that city, and recruits began to come from other colonies.³

The British, on their part, made no energetic efforts to assail the intrenchments of the Americans; so that Washington, instead of fighting, was confronted by the even more difficult Washington's difficult position task of maintaining discipline for many months in an army of citizen soldiery very much given to personal independence of action. In truth, the militia had enlisted for a short time only, and Washington at one period of the siege had practically to organize a new army in the face of the enemy.

³ Among these was a band of one hundred volunteers under Daniel Morgan, who had marched the entire distance from their homes in the Valley of Virginia. Their rude fringed hunting shirts proved an object of mirth to the Massachusetts militia, but Morgan's riflemen soon demonstrated their real worth in battle.

71. Evacuation of Boston.—In March, 1776, a night movement was planned in which Dorchester Heights, commanding the city of Boston on the south, was seized and fortified. This movement made Boston untenable by the British, so that after a siege which had lasted nearly a year Boston was evacuated and the British forces went from there to Halifax. There was no more fighting of special consequence in New England throughout the war. The scenes of the remaining battles of the Revolution were to be laid in the middle and southern colonies.⁴

72. Hostilities in Virginia.—In the other colonies, where there was as yet no large force of British troops, there was manifested the same spirit of determined resistance to the domination of Parliament. As early as March 25, 1775, Patrick Henry had moved that Virginia be put in a state of defense, and later the royal Governor Dunmore sought safety on board a British warship. Dunmore threatened to hang Henry and burn Williamsburg. Collecting a fleet of war vessels, he tried to rouse the Indians; he also offered general emancipation to the negro slaves if they would rise in insurrection. Dunmore was not successful in arousing either the Indians or the negroes; and, after a series of raids along the coast, a part of his force was met and defeated by Colonel Woodford at Great Bridge, near Norfolk, December 9, 1775. Later Dunmore bombarded and burned the greater part of Norfolk.⁵

Governor
Dunmore
tries to incite
negro slaves
and Indians
against the
Virginians

⁴ Early in the course of colonial opposition to Parliament, Congress hoped that the people of Canada would coöperate with an invading colonial army. Consequently, Benedict Arnold, after a wonderful march through the Maine wilderness, had entered Canada, where he was to coöperate with Schuyler, Morgan, and Montgomery. Arnold and the last two officers made a daring but hopeless attack upon the stronghold of Quebec. Montgomery was killed, many of the men were captured, and the rest ultimately driven back to Ticonderoga after a stout resistance under Arnold.

⁵ Washington hoped that the burning of Norfolk would "unite the whole country in one indissoluble band." A patriot lieutenant in the fight at Great Bridge was John Marshall, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

73. Fighting in North Carolina.—In the eventful month of April, 1775, the people of North Carolina drove the royal governor out of the colony; and, in the following month, at Charlotte, North Carolina, the citizens of Mecklenburg County declared the British government suspended. Part of the British plan for 1776 included the invasion of North Carolina under General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker. There were many Scotch highland royalists in the colony, who hastened to raise a force to coöperate with the British. About 1600 of these loyalists under Donald MacDonald marched down the Cape Fear River, Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, Feb. 27, 1776 and at Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776, fiercely attacked 1000 patriot riflemen under Colonels Caswell and Lillington. But the patriot party won a brilliant and overwhelming victory, capturing several hundred of the loyalists. Sir Peter Parker, therefore, not finding the assistance he had hoped for, passed on to South Carolina.

74. First British Invasion of the South, 1776.—Under the lead of Henry Laurens, the patriot party in South Carolina had seized the royal arsenal and munitions of war long before the news of Lexington and Concord had reached that colony. Some months later, the royal governor withdrew from the colony and John Rutledge was vested by the Colonial Assembly with the power of Governor. Under Rutledge 5000 Carolina militia were enlisted for the defense of that colony. Charleston, its leading seaport, was then one of the most prosperous of the American cities. In June, 1776, Clinton and Parker prepared to reduce it to submission. In the meantime, however, Colonel William Moultrie, with a kind of careless skill, had constructed fortifications of palmetto logs at the southern end of Sullivan's Island, at the entrance to the harbor of Charleston. Here was placed a defending force of about 1200 men, while several hundred men and a battery were sent to defend the northern end of the island against a possible landing party.

The British attack began on the morning of June 28, 1776, and consisted of a bombardment of Fort Sullivan from a fleet of

war vessels, aided by a landing force of several thousand men under Sir Henry Clinton. The latter were promptly repulsed by the guns of the battery at the north end of the island. The British fleet, however, began a heavy bombardment that lasted ten hours. The Americans returned the cannonade with great effect, while the shots of the British sank almost harmlessly into the soft palmetto logs. As at Bunker Hill, the powder supply was meagre; but the Americans, using to advantage what they had, fired with the cool precision of trained soldiers, and did terrible execution on board the British ships. The flagship of Admiral Parker was made a wreck, he himself was wounded, and only one of the other nine vessels was immediately able to put to sea after the battle. No more disastrous defeat of a British armament is reported in history.⁶

British defeated at Charleston, June 28, 1776

Besides the damage inflicted upon their fleet, the British lost 200 men in the conflict, while the American loss was but 12 killed and 25 wounded. The *Actæon* ran aground on the present site of Fort Sumter and was burned by the Americans, not, however, before its guns were first directed at the other British ships. As the engagement at Bunker Hill and the evacuation of Boston freed New England from British armies, so the successful defense of Fort Moultrie (so named after the battle) for a period of three years saved South Carolina and the other southern colonies from invasion. Moreover, this first decisive victory of the patriot party preceded the Declaration of Independence but a few days, and, becoming known at about the same time, no doubt nerved the hearts of all Americans for that great announcement.

Results of the victory

⁶ During the hottest part of the bombardment, the flagstaff on Fort Sullivan was cut down and the flag fell outside the walls of the fort. Sergeant William Jasper leaped down, secured the flag, attached it to a sponge staff, and replaced it on the ramparts. He was later offered a lieutenant's commission in recognition of his inspiring act, but he modestly refused it. Lord William Campbell, the expelled royal governor of South Carolina, while on the flagship of Sir Peter Parker, was mortally wounded.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Compare the battles of Bunker Hill and Fort Moultrie. More extended accounts should prove interesting to the student.

2. Why was Major Pitcairn mentioned in connection with Bunker Hill? See p. 110.

3. Compare the position assumed by the Second Continental Congress with that taken by the First in the previous year. See Secs. 65 and 69.

4. While the British and the Americans were fighting each other around Boston, American ministers were still praying for King George or for reconciliation. It is said that on one occasion the American soldiers were so noisily celebrating the king's birthday that the British in Boston got ready to repel what they thought were preparations for an attack. Abigail Adams, however, wrote to her husband, John Adams, that she could not join in the prayers for reconciliation, closing with the expression: "Let us separate."

CHAPTER XI

SECOND PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION—FROM THE DEFENSE OF FORT MOULTRIE TO THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE— INDEPENDENCE DECLARED

75. The Colonies Consider Independence.—There had now existed between the colonies and the mother country an actual state of war for over a year, in which time British troops had been driven out of New England and had met with decisive defeat in South Carolina. In addition, there had been some form of conflict with British authority in every one of the colonies. During this period, although the colonists were shooting the king's soldiers, they were all the while declaring that they were loyal subjects of His Majesty. This curious condition could not last indefinitely.

Colonial loyalty to the British empire under the sovereign

A number of events contributed to hasten a change of attitude on the part of the colonies. In the first place, although a number of officers in the British service had resigned rather than serve in America against their countrymen, and although the people of London had declared their opposition to measures "designed to oppress our fellow-subjects" in the colonies, it was clearly seen that those in the mother country who advocated concession or conciliation had little influence with Parliament or the king. On the other hand, the king and Parliament were now ready to proceed to extreme measures. Large sums of money were expended in securing thousands of mercenary troops from foreign countries to carry on the war against the colonies.¹ Furthermore, the exposed

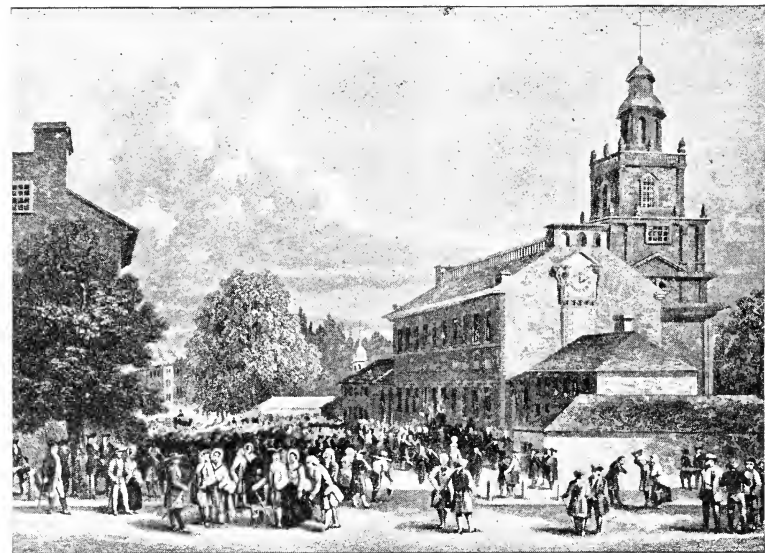
Uncompromising attitude of king and Parliament

The hiring of Hessian soldiers by the British government

¹ These troops were drafted from the subjects of the numerous petty princes of the German states, who sold their services to anyone who would pay for them. As many of those who served in America were subjects of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, *Hessians* became a general term applied to all Germans in the British service.

towns on the Atlantic coast had been harshly treated by British frigates, and some of them had been bombarded and burned.

These events, therefore, greatly quickened a sentiment that had been setting strongly toward a declaration of complete independence of the mother country. Prominent in working for separation were such men as John and Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts; Nathanael Greene, of Rhode Island; Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Samuel Chase, of Maryland;



THE OLD STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA

Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina; and Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington, of Virginia.²

² In January, 1776, a pamphlet was published in Philadelphia under the title of "Common Sense." It was written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman who had recently emigrated to the colonies. Paine wrote that, "The period of debate is closed; arms, as the last resource, decide the contest." This pamphlet strikingly presented the arguments for independence, which were thus given a wide circulation among the people.

Georgia first gave freedom of action to her delegates in Congress. North Carolina, elated over her victory at Moore's Creek Bridge, empowered her delegates directly to vote for ^{Colonies} independence. This was on the 12th of April, 1776. ^{instruct for} ^{independence} In the same month, Massachusetts and Rhode Island took steps to give their delegates similar instructions. Virginia began to declare her choice in the elections to a special convention in April. In May the convention met at Williamsburg and instructed its delegates to declare for independence.

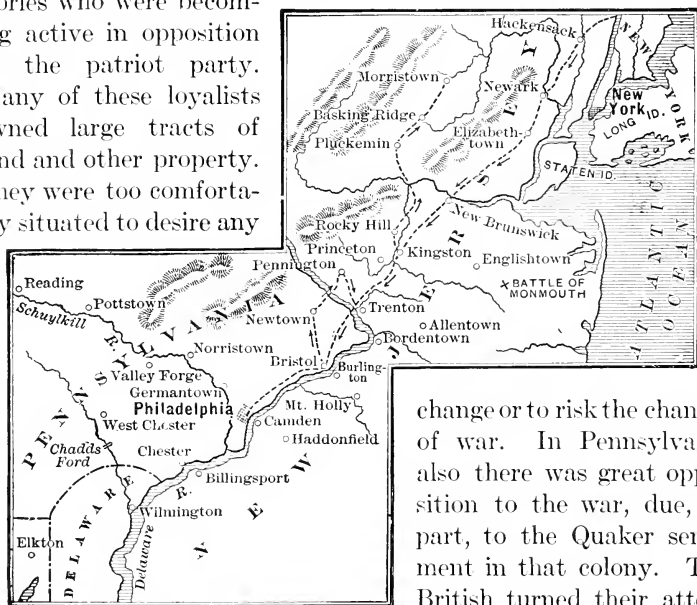
76. Continental Congress Declares for Independence, July 4, 1776.—As a direct consequence of the action of the Virginia Convention, Richard Henry Lee presented in the Continental Congress the formal motion: "That these United Colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." John Adams seconded the motion, which was approved by the vote of the delegates from all the colonies save New York. The formal Declaration of Independence was accordingly drawn up by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by Congress on July 4.³

Copies of the Declaration were sent to the legislatures of the thirteen States, which, as we have seen, had already taken steps to form independent governments. The Assembly of New York was the first to ratify the document on July 9. Other assemblies followed in giving their sanction, and the work of the Congress was thus approved by the States.

The colonies
proclaim
themselves
Confeder-
ated States

³ The Declaration was not actually signed by the delegates until August 2, on which date nearly all of the signatures were affixed. Verbal changes in Jefferson's draft were made by John Adams and Benjamin Franklin; Congress also voted to omit portions of the original, such as Jefferson's denunciation of royal protection afforded the slave trade, together with all definite references to Parliament, whose official existence and authority were consistently ignored by the colonies.

77. Howe's Campaign in the Middle States, 1776.—The British government was not yet willing to acknowledge colonial independence, and the theatre of conflict was transferred to the middle States, where it was thought that British armies would have a greater measure of success than they had met with in New England and the South. In New York there were a number of Tories who were becoming active in opposition to the patriot party. Many of these loyalists owned large tracts of land and other property. They were too comfortably situated to desire any



THE NEW JERSEY CAMPAIGN

change or to risk the chances of war. In Pennsylvania also there was great opposition to the war, due, in part, to the Quaker sentiment in that colony. The British turned their attention to the important harbor

and city of New York, which therefore became the next prize to be contended for by the opposing forces.

Washington sent a large part of his effective fighting strength, under Generals Putnam and Sullivan, to hold Brooklyn Heights on Long Island. Against these Howe dispatched a force of 20,000 men, who turned the American flank, and "the battle was won before it was begun." Many of the Americans were killed and hundreds captured, but the bravery and deter-

Battle of
Long Island,
Aug. 27, 1776

mined resistance of some 400 Maryland troops checked the British advance. This, together with a heavy storm and the British slowness of movement, saved this portion of the Continental army, and enabled Washington to rescue the remnant of his force two days later. Washington was now compelled to abandon New York City, not, however, without disputing the advance of the enemy in several minor engagements.

The main body of the American army continued to retreat from the neighborhood of New York westward and southward through New Jersey, leaving a division under General Charles Lee on the east side of the Hudson. Through ^{Washington's retreat} New Jersey, Washington was energetically pursued by Cornwallis and Howe. It was late in the fall, and although the American troops were suffering severely from cold and the lack of adequate clothing, Washington had nevertheless been desirous of turning upon the British and giving battle; but his order to General Lee to bring up the rest of the army was wilfully disobeyed by the latter so that his plans of attack were thereby frustrated.⁴ Consequently, Washington moved his army across the Delaware into Pennsylvania. Philadelphia was now threatened, but the British did not cross into Pennsylvania during the winter because it seemed to them that the American army was demoralized and that the people of New Jersey were not likely to render assistance to the "rebel" forces. For this reason the British went into winter quarters, confidently expecting to have no further trouble and to capture Philadelphia in the spring.

Washington saw that the patriot cause was at a low ebb. He was fully aware that something must be done to raise the spirits of his men, now reduced to a little band of less than 5000 effective

⁴ General Charles Lee was an officer in the British army prior to the Revolution and had a high reputation as a skilled tactician. He was, however, a vain and self-seeking man, who had hoped to become commander-in-chief of the American army in place of Washington. The student should not confuse this General Lee with the other Lees from Virginia, as he was not related to that distinguished family.

troops, including the division of General Charles Lee, which had joined him, although Lee himself had been captured by the British.

Washington turns on Cornwallis—
Battle of Trenton,
Dec. 25, 1776 Having first secured information as to the location of the different posts of the enemy, Washington determined to attack a body of Hessians encamped at Trenton, New Jersey. After seizing all the boats along the

Delaware River, he planned to send his little army across in three parts; but the only part which succeeded in crossing was the one which he led in person. He had selected Christmas eve as the time most suitable for the surprise of the enemy. During a snow storm and amid masses of floating ice he led his own detachment across the Delaware; and although the attack was begun much later than intended, the Hessians were taken largely by surprise, their retreat was skilfully cut off, and practically their entire force was either killed or captured. The American loss was but two men killed and two frozen to death on the march.

Washington took his prisoners safely over the Delaware and returned to New Jersey, but was now in great danger of being Battle of Princeton
Jan. 3, 1777 himself surrounded and captured by superior numbers under Cornwallis, who expressed the opinion that "he had at last run down the old fox." Washington, however, by leaving his camp-fires burning, deceived his antagonist and slipped away in the night toward Princeton. Here he routed a body of 2000 British troops and took more prisoners.

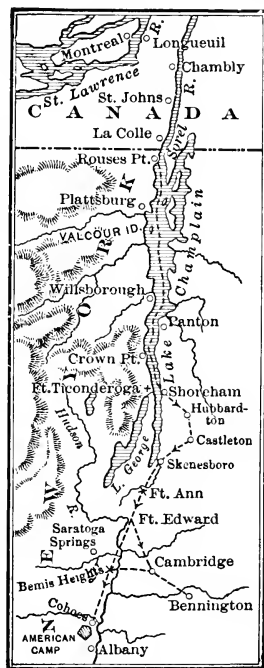
The battle of Princeton took place January 3, 1777, so that within ten days Washington had routed two detachments of the enemy, captured valuable munitions of war, and had revived the Aid from France hopes and spirits of his countrymen. These victories are of particular importance in that it convinced Europe that the untrained American army had at its head one of the great captains of the age.⁵ In consequence, the negotiations of

⁵ When Frederick the Great of Prussia learned of this campaign, he pronounced it "the most brilliant of any recorded in the annals of military achievement." Afterwards, Von Moltke said of it that: "No finer movement was ever executed."

Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane at Paris were brought to a successful consummation; and France promised a fund of about \$400,000 yearly, with munitions of war. These, however, were promised secretly, as France had not declared war against Great Britain. A number of French officers proffered their services to the patriot cause, the most famous of whom was the Marquis de Lafayette. Furthermore, the success of the Trenton and Princeton campaign aroused the people of New Jersey to organize their militia and to attack the outposts of the enemy. Washington himself prudently avoided a general engagement, and the British felt compelled to withdraw from New Jersey to New York by the end of June.

78. Burgoyne's Campaign in Northern New York, 1777.—Part of the general British plan of campaign was to separate the States by capturing the water course formed by the Hudson River and Lake Champlain. In consequence of this general plan, Burgoyne was ordered to begin a movement from Canada with a British-Hessian army and Indian allies, to the number of 10,000 men. Burgoyne was also to be joined by a British force working eastward from Lake Ontario.

Opposing Burgoyne in the north was a small force of Continental troops under General Philip Schuyler. Burgoyne's route lay through swamps and thick woods; and, as Schuyler was unable to cope with the invading force, he obstructed its movements by destroying bridges and felling trees across its path. On this account the British made slow progress, while Schuyler retreated to Albany.



BURGOYNE'S ROUTE

Schuyler's
strategy

In July Burgoyne's supplies began to fail; and in August he sent Colonel Baum into Vermont with a force of 1000 Hessians to seize the American stores gathered at Bennington. British defeats in Vermont and western New York Baum was surrounded and captured by a body of Vermont farmers commanded by General Stark. At the same time, Burgoyne learned of the rout in western New York of the British force that was to have come to his aid from that quarter, a rout that was brought about by the gallant fighting of Colonel Herkimer, and by the strategy of Benedict Arnold.

Burgoyne was now in desperate straits, and the militia in Vermont under General Lincoln were making it increasingly difficult for him to get supplies from Canada. He had heard no news of General Howe, who was expected to move up the Hudson from New York. Consequently, from the middle of September, he had no alternative left him but to fight his way through without help to the mouth of the Hudson. On September 19 he attacked the Americans at Bemis Heights. This attack was well planned and boldly executed, and, because of the incompetency of General Gates, who had superseded the more energetic Schuyler, came very near being successful. Indeed, the American army would doubtless have been badly defeated, but for the energetic action of Benedict Arnold and Daniel Morgan. As it was, the result was a drawn battle, although the British lost 600 men, while the Americans lost about half that number. Burgoyne, however, could neither retreat nor remain on the defensive. Consequently, he again attacked the American army on October 7 at about the same place. His attack, however, was repulsed, and Burgoyne retired to Saratoga, followed by the Americans. Here, on October 17, he was forced to surrender what was left of his army, about 6000 men, together with all his military stores.

Battles of
Bemis
Heights, Sept.
19, Oct. 7;
Saratoga,
Oct. 17, 1777

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Show how the Colonial Congress of 1776 became the Congress of the Confederated States.

2. A detailed account of the battle of Long Island should prove interesting. There is no doubt that Washington made a serious blunder in attempting, with inadequate fortifications and with no naval force, to defend New York. His army might have been annihilated but for the incompetence of Howe and Clinton. On the other hand, the British improved upon their frontal assault at Bunker Hill, and they had been made especially cautious by their disastrous repulse at Fort Moultrie. The lesson we may learn from this just criticism of Washington is this: That Washington profited by his mistakes, and not only learned not to repeat them but constantly to improve in both defensive and offensive strategy. General Prescott, at Breed's Hill, had also placed himself in a position to be surrounded.

3. Of the remainder of the campaigns contained in this chapter, those of Washington in New Jersey and of Burgoyne in New York should prove of especial interest for detailed reading.

4. An incident of the campaign immediately subsequent to the Battle of Long Island was the capture by the British of Nathan Hale, who, disguised as a schoolmaster, had been engaged in gaining information in the British camp. He was hanged as a spy; but just before his execution, he exclaimed: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." Hale was born in Connecticut and was graduated at Yale.

CHAPTER XII

THIRD PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION—FROM SARATOGA TO KING'S MOUNTAIN

79. Results of Burgoyne's Surrender.—The capture of Burgoyne caused great rejoicing throughout the country and further contributed to the success of the American cause by bringing about a treaty with France which was signed in the following winter; but it also gave rise to a most unfortunate scandal in Congress and the American army. This scandal or conspiracy has been known in history as the "Conway Cabal," after the name of one of its leaders. In the main, it was an effort to belittle the services of Washington and to supersede him in favor of General Horatio Gates, called by his friends the "hero of Saratoga;" although the credit for the success of the New York campaign really belonged to Schuyler, Arnold, and Morgan. The conspiracy had gained great headway before its real nature was detected. It ended, however, in complete failure; and, throughout its disclosures, Washington, with characteristic dignity and moral courage, bore slanders and misrepresentations without complaint, because a public defense of his course would necessarily have given valuable information to the enemy.

80. Howe's Second Campaign in the Middle States, 1777.—According to the original plan of the British, Howe was to march north from New York City to assist Burgoyne when the latter entered New York State from Canada. Many years later it was learned that the cause of Howe's failure to coöperate directly with Burgoyne was due to the carelessness of a British official in London, who misplaced the order to that effect. General Howe, therefore, having had no definite instructions, chose to follow a plan of his own by which he hoped to capture

Treaty with
France, 1778

Conway's
Cabal

Washington's
strategy

Philadelphia first and join Burgoyne later. With his army of 17,000 men, more than double Washington's effective force, Howe expected to accomplish this within a very short while. In the previous campaign in New Jersey, the British commander had been so often foiled by the maneuvers of Washington that the former finally decided upon a wholly new plan of operation. Accordingly, he proceeded by sea to the head of Chesapeake Bay, where he landed his troops and prepared for an immediate march on the continental capital. Washington moved to meet him at Brandywine creek in southern Pennsylvania; but a number of mistakes were made by his officers in carrying

Battle of
Brandywine
Sept. 11, 1777



WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE AT VALLEY FORGE

out his plans, so that the Americans were outflanked as at Long Island and forced to retreat, with a loss of about 1000 men. Shortly afterwards, September 26, 1777, Howe took possession of Philadelphia, forcing Congress to flee to York.

Washington, however, was not discouraged, and planned an attack that was in its strategy as daring as his Trenton-Princeton campaign of the year before. It began in an equally successful manner, but a heavy fog caused confusion and disastrous collisions in the American ranks. The result was that the Americans were forced to retire after heavy losses.

Battle of
Germantown
Oct. 4, 1777

This conflict was known as the battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777, after which military operations were suspended for the remainder of the year.

81. Winter Quarters at Valley Forge, 1777-1778.—Howe went into winter quarters at Philadelphia, and Washington selected a position at Valley Forge on the Schuylkill River, about twenty miles away. The weather was extremely severe, and the army fared badly. Sufficient barracks and blankets had not been provided for the troops, many of whom had sometimes to sit up all night by fires in order to keep from freezing. At times about a fourth of Washington's force were incapacitated for duty from lack of shoes and clothing. In addition to these privations, the pay of the soldiers in "Continental" currency, or the currency issued by Congress, was worth little or nothing.

82. British Offers of Compromise, 1778.—During the winter of 1777-1778, however, the alliance with France already referred to at the beginning of this chapter was finally effected by the American commissioners. When this became known in England, Parliament passed acts repealing the duty on tea. It further repealed the Massachusetts Government Act, and declared that it would not exercise its right to levy taxes on the American colonies. But these concessions had come too late. The people in England had called for Pitt to come to the aid of the government and to make overtures for peace; but Pitt was stricken with a fatal illness, and Lord North's commissioners, who came to America in June, were sent back to say that the former colonies would accept nothing less than the acknowledgment of their complete independence.

83. Clinton's Campaign in the Middle States, 1778.—Early in the following summer, the British authorities decided to concentrate their forces at New York. In consequence of this change of plan, Sir Henry Clinton, now in command, marched out of Philadelphia on the 18th of June, with Washington following immediately upon his heels. The American army overtook Clinton on the 27th at Monmouth Court House, New Jersey, and Washington prepared for an immediate attack. General Charles

Battle of
Monmouth,
June 28, 1778

Lee, who had been exchanged, was again in command of an American force. Washington ordered him to make an attack upon the enemy on the morning of the 28th, but the former English officer did not obey promptly, and disarranged Washington's plans by giving confusing orders. Fortunately, the alert Lafayette reported the state of affairs to Washington, who arrived on the scene in time to stop a retreat. After delivering a stinging rebuke to the disobedient officer, he restored the line of battle and advanced against the British. Even after this unfortunate beginning, Washington fought a drawn battle, and the British commander retired that night from the field to take up his march to New York. General Charles Lee was court-martialed, and afterwards dismissed from the army.

Washington now followed Clinton to New York, and, with the aid of a French fleet under Count d'Estaing, he hoped to capture the British forces there. When d'Estaing arrived, however, he found that his largest vessels Washington plans to regain New York could not cross the bar of the harbor, and the project was given up, Washington remaining on the Hudson above New York to maintain communications with New England.¹

84. Indian and Tory Raids in New York and Pennsylvania, 1778.—In the summer of 1778, exiled Tories and Indian allies made numerous raids on the border settlements of New York and Pennsylvania, the most noted of these being in the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania and in Cherry Valley, New York. General Sullivan, with 5000 men, was sent by Washington in the following year to revenge their atrocities. Sullivan badly defeated the enemy near Elmira, New York, and destroyed the villages and cornfields of the Indians over an extended stretch of country.

85. The Expedition of George Rogers Clark, 1778-1779.—The winter of 1778-1779, however, witnessed a daring and wonderful achievement in the west. We have seen from the preceding nar-

¹ The French fleet joined with an American force in an attack on the British at Newport. The undertaking, however, failed.

rative that the war had not yet greatly affected the south, although volunteers from the southern colonies had been among the earliest to march to the assistance of their compatriots in the north. The hardy backwoodsmen of Virginia and North Carolina had already begun to occupy the fertile lands of Kentucky and Tennessee.

Virginia
commissions
Clark to se-
cure the
northwest

In 1778 it occurred to one of these pioneer leaders, George Rogers Clark, to cross the Ohio and wrest from Great Britain the great northwestern territory between

that river and the Great Lakes. Clark laid his plans before Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, and Thomas Jefferson, both

of whom heartily approved of it. Shortly thereafter, Clark was commissioned by the State of Virginia to undertake the conquest.



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Born Albermarle Co., Va., November 19, 1752. Served in Indian wars; moved to Kentucky, 1775, and was prominent in organization of territory; led expedition that wrested the northwest from British in 1778-1779. Died Kentucky, 1818.

In the first stage of his campaign, Clark led a few score men from Wheeling down the Ohio and across southern Illinois to the Mississippi River. Not far from the present site of St. Louis, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, was the important outpost of Kaskaskia. Clark, with his small band of Kentucky frontiersmen, surprised this settlement and took possession of it on the night of July 4, 1778.

Here he awaited reinforcements before proceeding farther into the Illinois territory. The expected reinforcements, however, had been sent against hostile Indians at the future battlefield of Chickamauga and Clark was, for the present, unable to proceed farther into the northwestern territory.

In the winter of 1779 Clark heard that the British Governor Hamilton was gathering a formidable force of British and Indians

at Vincennes to drive him out of the Illinois country early in the spring, so that he determined to advance at once and to strike the first blow. He assembled, therefore, a force of 170 men, some of whom were French volunteers from Kaskaskia, and began a wonderful march across a

Clark's win-
ter march to
Vincennes,
1779

trackless country in the dead of winter. A great part of the route led through the "drowned lands" of the Wabash, and the men were frequently obliged to wade up to their necks in water, holding their guns above the flood. Frequently they were without food, except such as they were able to capture or secure along the route.

Clark and his men arrived before Vincennes on the 23rd of February, 1779. They outnumbered Hamilton's force, but the latter's war parties and raiders might return at any moment; so Clark attacked the fort the following day ^{Capture of Vincennes, Feb. 24, 1779} so vigorously that Hamilton surrendered. The British commander and a number of the prisoners were sent to Jefferson, now governor in the place of Patrick Henry, and the Northwestern Territory was organized as the County of Illinois, in the State of Virginia. George Rogers Clark at that time was but twenty-six years of age; his double campaign gave Virginia a strong claim to the northwest, and enabled her later to give this territory to the United States as a common possession.²

86. Minor Movements of the Summer of 1779.—The summer of the year 1779 witnessed two brilliant minor movements of American forces. The first of these was the capture of ^{Stony Point, July 15, 1779} Stony Point on the Hudson by General Anthony Wayne. This was accomplished in a night attack, by the use of the bayonet only, and without firing a shot. The entire British force surrendered and military stores of importance were captured. One month later, Major Henry ^{Paulus Hook, Aug. 19, 1779} Lee captured in an equally daring manner the British fortifications at Paulus Hook, opposite New York, on the present site of

² The Virginia executive council ordered that Hamilton should be put in irons in retaliation for instigating Indian atrocities along the border. George Rogers Clark was not fittingly repaid for his great services either by Virginia or by the United States. He died in poverty and obscurity, part of which, however, was due to his own failure, as he became addicted to intemperance. His life may be taken as an inspiration to achievement, and his end as a warning against self-indulgence.

Jersey City. The capture of Stony Point had taken place on July 15, 1779. Paulus Hook fell into the hands of the Americans on August 19.

87. John Paul Jones Wins Great Naval Combat, September 23, 1779.—These two successive land victories were followed on September 23 by the greatest naval victory of the war. This was achieved by Captain John Paul Jones, a Scotch-American com-



JOHN PAUL JONES

Born Scotland, July 6, 1747; became sailor at 12; settled in Virginia, 1773; became noted sea captain in American navy of Revolution; later Rear-Admiral in Russian navy. Died Paris, 1792.

mander who had succeeded in fitting out ships in the ports of France. His flagship was an old French merchant vessel refitted for war purposes and re-named the *Bonhomme Richard*. Cruising to the west of Britain, he fell in with the convoy of a British merchant fleet. He chose for his antagonist the *Serapis*, the larger frigate in command of Captain Richard Pearson. The battle that took place was one of the most desperate engagements recorded in history. For a large part of the time the ships were lashed together and both were burning.

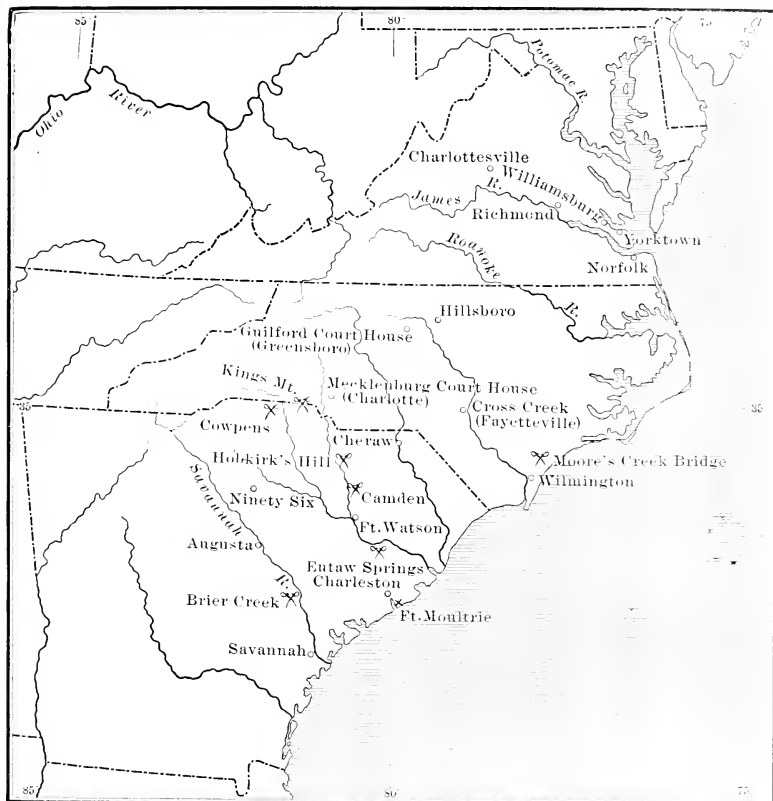
First one side had the advantage and then the other during the long hours of conflict; but at last some hand-grenades, thrown from the rigging of the *Bonhomme Richard* upon the decks of the *Serapis*, turned the tide of the battle against the British, who were forced to surrender. The *Bonhomme Richard* sank shortly after the engagement, and Jones sailed away on the *Serapis*. Further daring operations by Jones, Barry, Whipple, and a number of American privateersmen began greatly to cripple the commerce of Great Britain.

88. British Campaign in the South from 1779 to Battle of Camden, 1780.—The British again turned their attention to

the subjugation of the far south, where they had secured a foothold at Savannah, Georgia. In the fall of 1779, a combined attack was made upon that city by a French fleet under d'Estaing and an American force under General Lincoln. To surprise the enemy a night assault was planned, but the British were warned of it, and it was repulsed with disastrous

Americans
and French
repulsed at
Savannah,
Oct. 9, 1779

results to the besiegers. One thousand of the allied forces were killed, while the British loss was small. Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie, and Count Pulaski, a distinguished Pole who had entered the American service, were among the killed.



WAR MAP OF THE SOUTH DURING THE REVOLUTION

In December, Sir Henry Clinton sailed from New York to invest Charleston. Opposing his force of 11,000 men was General Lincoln, with a force of about 7000 Americans, who became entrapped in the city by troops on the one side and ships on the other. The American forces held out for nearly two

Charleston
captured
May 12, 1780

months, but on May 12, 1780, after a destructive bombardment, they were compelled to capitulate. The city of Charleston was pillaged by Hessians and British alike, and South Carolina suffered under a brutal warfare more than any other State. Clinton and Cornwallis outlawed all people who would not take an ironbound oath actively to support the British government. Property was destroyed or confiscated, and the people were cruelly treated.

The British forces were overwhelmingly large and South Carolina was for a time left to work out her own salvation. This she began to do with wonderful spirit and determination through the active operations of small bands of



GENERAL NATHANAEL
GREENE

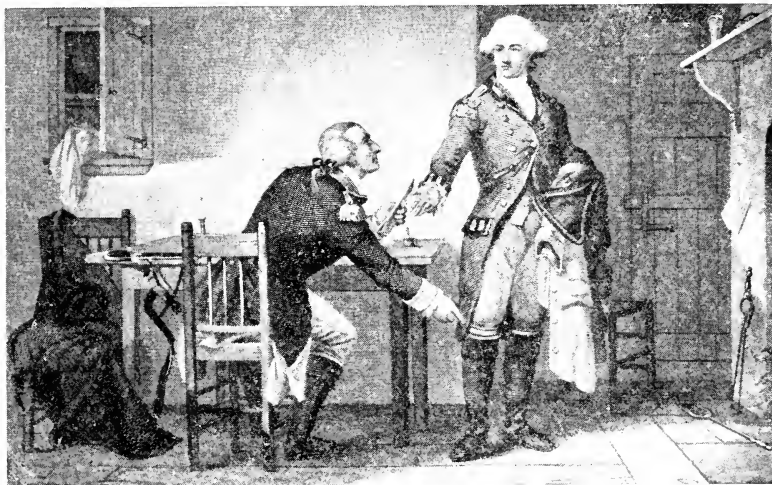
Born Rhode Island, Aug. 7, 1742. Served in Continental army throughout Revolution; early promoted to major-general, serving with honor in New England, middle and southern States. Died Georgia, 1786.

the campaign. The immediate result was a blundering failure on the part of Gates, who met the enemy at Camden, South Carolina, and was disastrously defeated, Gates

³ Opposed to these American leaders were the dashing but cruel Tarleton, and Major Ferguson, leader of the Tories or loyalists. Francis Marion soon became known as the "Swamp Fox," and Sumter as the "Game Cock," on account of their different fighting qualities, names that were applied to them by the British officers.

not stopping his four days' flight until he reached a safe point 180 miles away. Baron de Kalb was killed in the battle.⁴

After this disastrous campaign, Congress at last gave up Gates, and allowed Washington to put Greene in his place; but almost irreparable damage had been done to the Amer- ^{Gates superseded by Greene} ican cause. The war had now dragged along for a period of five years. The end seemed not in sight and the outlook at no period was more gloomy than at this time. The patriot soldiers were unable to support themselves on currency that was



TREASON OF BENEDICT ARNOLD

worth nothing, desertions were increasingly frequent, and recruits were hard to obtain. In addition to this, the country was startled and horrified over the treacherous conduct of one of its bravest leaders.

⁴ It is worth noting, however, that both Generals Gates and Lee, as soldiers of experience in the British service, were originally appointed through the representations of Washington. It was at this time that the disgraced but clever Charles Lee is reported to have said that "General Gates had better beware lest the laurels of Saratoga be changed into the willows of Carolina."

89. Treason of Benedict Arnold.—Benedict Arnold, after his notable services in Vermont, New York, and Canada, had been treated with injustice and neglect by Congress. Upon being reprimanded for some minor irregularities of conduct, he determined to sell his services to the enemy. Consequently, after securing the command at West Point on the Hudson, he engaged in correspondence with the British to deliver that stronghold to them. In September, 1780, he had arranged the last details of his plans with Major André, an officer on Clinton's staff. André, however, was caught by Continental pickets on the east side of the Hudson on his way back from the American lines. The treasonable correspondence was found in his possession, and Arnold hastened openly to join the British. The blow was thus deprived of most of its force and West Point was saved. The unfortunate Major André, however, was, in accordance with military regulations, executed as a spy.

But this period of gloom was the darkness that preceded the dawn of the day of final success. The first light was to come from the frontier settlements of Virginia and the Carolinas.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Among the subjects outlined in this chapter, interesting ones for special reading are: The Battle of Monmouth, George Rogers Clark in the northwest, the career of John Paul Jones, and the operations of American privateers.

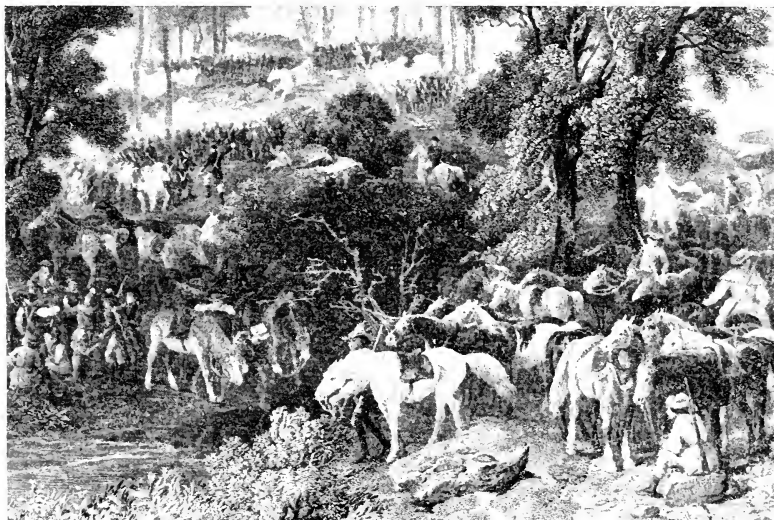
2. Comparison may be made between the gloomy winter of Valley Forge and the period of depression following British success at Camden.

3. The similarity of sound and spelling between names frequently leads into errors which too often confuse students. For instance, the names of the British general Gage and the American commander Gates become unconsciously confused. So also such names as Henry Lee, the noted cavalry leader of the Revolution, and Richard Henry Lee, his cousin and the delegate from Virginia, who introduced the motion in the Continental Congress that led to the framing of the Declaration of Independence.

CHAPTER XIII

FOURTH PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION—FROM KING'S MOUNTAIN TO YORKTOWN AND THE TREATY OF PEACE

90. Campaigns in the Carolinas, 1780-1781.—After their easily won victory at Camden, the British believed that they could readily subjugate the whole of the South. Consequently, Major Ferguson was sent to the western part of South Carolina, not only



BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN

to arouse the Tories, but to inflict a blow upon the frontiersmen beyond the mountains, who were beginning to take a more active part in the patriot cause. Ferguson received orders to intimidate the people, if necessary, by laying waste the country and hanging the "rebel" leaders, but orders such as these served further to arouse the fighting spirit of the riflemen of the western frontier.

From every quarter they gathered together at the call of their leaders, Campbell, Sevier, Shelby, McDowell, Williams, and Cleveland. On October 7, 1780, they found Ferguson, who had heard of their coming and had fortified himself on a spur of a rocky ridge called King's Mountain.

Battle of
King's
Mountain,
Oct. 7, 1780



From A. H. Wharton's "Her-
alds in Miniature."

JOHN LAURENS

Born Charleston, S. C., 1755. Served in Continental army; aide and, with Alexander Hamilton, Secretary to Washington; sent on special mission to France, was successful in securing additional French loan at critical period of Revolution; killed by British raiders in South Carolina, Aug. 1782, being last American of note to be killed in War for Independence.

Here the American volunteers attacked him fiercely, and although repeatedly repulsed by bayonet charges, they retreated down the hill, only to return to the assault as often as they were driven back. Their determination was deadly and resistless, and Ferguson's force of 1100 men was completely wiped out. This was one of the most brilliant successes of the Revolution. The British and Tories slightly outnumbered the Americans, the latter losing but 28 men, including Colonel Williams. Ferguson and several hundred of the enemy were killed or wounded, while the rest were captured.

King's Mountain marked the beginning of the end of the revolutionary conflict. For, coupled with this, came the cheering news that John Laurens, sent as a special commissioner to France, had obtained French loan,
1780-1781 another loan from the French king.

This was timely aid, without which the United States could scarcely have brought the war to its successful conclusion some months later.¹

¹ Washington wrote to Laurens after his departure for France and prior to the battle of King's Mountain: "I give it decisively as my opinion that without a foreign loan our present force cannot be kept together; . . . we are at the end of our tether, and that now or never our deliverance must come." Laurens was a personal friend of George Washington and closely associated with him in his military operations from Brandywine to Yorktown. Of Laurens, Washington said that "his only fault was an intrepidity bordering upon rashness." He was twenty-eight years old when sent on this important diplomatic service to France, and secured additional French aid when all

The plans of Cornwallis had been frustrated by the defeat of Ferguson. Instead of Gates, there were now to oppose him such able commanders as Nathanael Greene and Daniel Morgan, besides Colonel William Washington, "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and the partisan leaders. These could now unite their forces against the British.

Reorganiza-
tion of the
American
army

General Morgan opened the campaign on the 17th of January, 1781, by defeating a larger force of British under Tarleton at Cowpens, South Carolina. Although the Americans fought well, they owed their victory in a large measure to the unusual strategy of their commander, who feigned flight with his forward line, and caught the charging British by a prearranged flanking attack. From the standpoint of military tactics, it was the most remarkable engagement of the Revolution. The British loss was 270 killed and wounded and 600 prisoners out of a total force of 1150 men. The Americans lost but 20 of the 940 men engaged. Morgan chased Tarleton and the remainder of his force for many miles and, after successfully evading Cornwallis, he united his forces with those of General Greene, who retired into Virginia.²

Battle of
Cowpens,
Jan. 17, 1781

On March 15 General Greene returned to North Carolina and gave battle to Cornwallis at Guilford Court House. The result was technically a victory for the British, as Greene ordered a retreat; but the British loss was proportionately greater, and Cornwallis's army was so badly crippled that he felt obliged to withdraw to Wilmington to be

Battle of
Guilford
Court House
Mar. 15, 1781

other American commissioners had failed. On his return to America he was seized with a fever, but rose from a sick bed to repel a British attack near his home in South Carolina. He received a mortal wound and died August 27, 1782. Congress had given him a vote of thanks for his successful negotiations with France.

² Before the battle, Morgan let his men know that retreat was cut off by a river in his rear. He did this because, he said, "When men are forced to fight, they will sell themselves dearly." He then prepared his men for the pretended panic of his forward lines. This was the only battle in which this remarkable leader was in entire command. Illness compelled him to retire, but Congress began to realize his worth, and voted him a gold medal after this battle.

within reach of the British fleet. There seemed to be but one course left open to him now, and this was to advance northward into Virginia.

In the meantime, partisan bands were waging constant warfare and were capturing or driving in the outlying British garrisons. British hard pressed Greene, therefore, permitted Cornwallis to advance into Virginia without opposition, and determined to lead his own army to the relief of the Carolinas. Consequently, at Hobkirk's Hill, he attacked a large force of the enemy under Colonel Rawdon, but was defeated. Rawdon, however, could no longer hold his headquarters at Camden, for "Light Horse Harry" Lee, by capturing a fort on the road to Charleston, had cut off his supplies.

During the summer, Marion and Sumter and other leaders had compelled the British to abandon the uplands of the whole Battle of Eutaw Springs, Sept. 8, 1781 of South Carolina and Georgia. On September 8 Greene encountered the British under Colonel Stuart at Eutaw Springs in South Carolina. At first the Americans were successful and drove the British from the field, but while the former were plundering the camp of the enemy, they were suddenly surprised and forced to retire.

91. Closing British Campaign in Virginia, 1781.—We now turn to Virginia for the closing scenes of the war. Early in 1781 Arnold and Cornwallis invade Virginia Benedict Arnold, appointed an officer in the British army, had led an invading force into that State, the defense of which was weakened by the absence of her soldiers fighting in the middle States under Washington, and in the south under Lincoln, Greene and other commanders. Richmond was burned and much of the region along the James was plundered by the British. But Generals Lafayette, Wayne, and Steuben arrived upon the scene to aid in repelling the invaders. Arnold was sent back to New York by Cornwallis, but the latter countenanced or encouraged a similar campaign of plunder. Finally, as the American troops grew in numbers, he decided to concentrate his army at Yorktown, on the York River, so as to

bring his forces into communication by sea with those of Sir Henry Clinton at New York.

The position taken by Cornwallis would have been safe had the British navy maintained control of the Atlantic coast, but it so happened that at this time a French fleet, much stronger than the British naval force in American waters, arrived in Chesapeake Bay. The Americans had prepared for their coming, through arrangements made by Washington with the French Admiral, Count de Grasse, and Count Rochambeau, with a view to a combined attack on New York, but now Washington, with his usual military insight, saw a better opportunity for attacking, and possibly capturing, Cornwallis.

To carry out this design he deceived Sir Henry Clinton by a movement which seemed to threaten New York; but when his plans were fully complete, he suddenly transferred 2000 of his men, together with 4000 French troops, from the Hudson to the James to join Lafayette above Yorktown. The movement was executed with great secrecy, celerity, and success, and the allied forces were in position to attack before Clinton could interfere.

Siege operations were begun in the latter part of September, and the lines of the allies were drawn closer and closer around Yorktown and Cornwallis. Outer British redoubts were captured by assault, British guns within the fortification were silenced, and Yorktown was enfiladed with shot and shell.³ After an attempt to escape by night across the York



CORNWALLIS'S HEADQUARTERS AT YORKTOWN

³ Governor Thomas Nelson of Virginia gave orders that his own house in Yorktown, occupied as British headquarters, be fired upon, offering a reward to the gunner who first should hit it.

River, Cornwallis was compelled to surrender on October 19, 1781.

Washington offered the same terms to the British that they had granted General Benjamin Lincoln at the surrender of Charleston in May, 1780. Lincoln was selected by Washington to receive the sword of Cornwallis. This was delivered to him by General O'Hara, but was returned to the latter in token of Washington's magnanimity. The land



From old French engraving

SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS

forces became the prisoners of the United States, while the naval forces were surrendered to the king of France.

92. Peace Negotiations.—Even the obstinacy of King George could not postpone the defeat of the ministry that had prosecuted the war. Consequently, Lord Rockingham became minister, with a cabinet made up largely of men who had opposed the policy of colonial coercion. Peace negotiations were conducted at Paris, in which the United States were represented by Benjamin Franklin,

John Adams, Henry Laurens, and John Jay. A preliminary treaty was arranged in Paris on November 30, 1782, which became final in the following year. By the terms of this treaty, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the thirteen former colonies, the boundaries of which were fixed by the Mississippi River on the west, by Florida on the south, and by the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes on the north.⁴

93. Treatment of the Tories.—There were other provisions of the treaty that were not carried out or definitely settled for some time, such as the protection of loyalists and the restoration of their property. The feeling against the loyalists was intense, partly on account of the malicious and even barbarous activities of some of them during the war. This hatred extended to all those who had not actively sympathized with the patriot party. Thousands were driven into exile and their property confiscated, sometimes under very harsh circumstances. It was a sad mistake to force out of the colony these people, many of whom would have accepted the result of the struggle in good faith, and who would have made good citizens of the new republic. The American Congress promised to recommend to the States that loyalists be protected and their property re-

Treaty of
peace ar-
ranged, Nov.
30, 1782



Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

WATCH OWNED BY GEORGE WASHINGTON
(Circumference 7.8 inches; diameter 2.5
inches; weight nearly half a pound.)

⁴ Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the States as follows: "His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States; viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to be free, sovereign, and independent States;" . . .

stored, but Congress could only recommend—it could not make the States obey.⁵ Neither could Congress compel the States to pay to British creditors debts contracted prior to the beginning of the war. The British, on the other hand, for several years kept possession of some of the forts in the northwest.

94. Final Withdrawal of British Troops in the East, November 25, 1783.—During the progress of negotiations, both British and American forces were kept under arms, although there was a cessation of hostilities. On April 19, eight years after Lexington and Concord, Washington communicated to the army the proclamation of Congress that peace had been declared, and most of the soldiers returned to their homes. New York was finally given up by the British on the 25th of November, 1783, and, on the 4th of December following, Washington took leave of his officers and departed for his home at Mount Vernon. On the 23d of the same month he resigned his commission at Annapolis, where Congress was then in session, and expressed his desire to retire to private life.⁶

Washington
resigns com-
mission Dec.
23, 1783

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. The detailed narrative of the operations and daring exploits of the American partisan bands in the Carolinas and Georgia make very interesting reading.

2. Some of the Continental notes so depreciated in value toward the end of the Revolution that it is said Samuel Adams paid \$2,000 for a suit of clothes and a hat. From this depreciation originated the expression that we still use, "Not worth a continental."

3. It is reported that after the battle of Cowpens, Tarleton taunted some North Carolina women about Colonel William A. Washington. "I should

⁵ It has been estimated that the States lost 100,000 loyalists by exile during or after the war. Most of them went to Canada or to the Bahamas.

⁶ The inability of Congress to provide proper pay for the officers and men aroused much discontent among them. Almost a mutiny occurred, in which General Gates was a leader, but Washington's influence and calmness of conduct prevented serious trouble. Later, a few score of discontented soldiers in Pennsylvania so frightened the feeble Continental Congress that it fled from Philadelphia to Princeton.

like to see this Colonel Washington," said Tarleton. "If you had looked behind you at Cowpens, you would have had the pleasure," was the ready reply.

4. "Light Horse Harry" Lee was considered the most daring cavalry officer of the Revolution. He was the father of an even more famous soldier, Robert E. Lee. He died and was buried at the home of General Greene in Georgia (where Eli Whitney later invented the cotton gin), but his remains were reinterred by the side of Robert E. Lee at Lexington, Virginia, in 1913.

5. When Cornwallis invaded Virginia in 1781, Governor Thomas Jefferson and the Virginia legislature barely escaped capture by 250 of Colonel Tarleton's troopers. The latter made an unexpected dash on Charlottesville, where the legislature was sitting, and upon "Monticello," Jefferson's home. John Jouett, a citizen of Charlottesville, then in Louisa County, saw the troopers, suspected their errand, and riding desperately over forty miles, between midnight and morning, succeeded in warning Jefferson and the legislature in time for Jefferson and nearly all the legislators to escape. This ride occurred at a critical period of the Revolution and saved from capture, imprisonment, and possible death, the author of the Declaration of Independence. Patrick Henry was also one of those warned by Jouett, whose timely ride should be compared and remembered with those of Paul Revere and William Dawes.

6. After the surrender of Cornwallis, Colonel Tench Tilghman of Maryland carried the news from Yorktown to the Congress at Philadelphia in four days. The news spread behind him as he rode, scarcely stopping to cry: "Cornwallis is captured! a fresh horse for Congress!" At midnight on the 23d of October, the watchmen of Philadelphia cried: "Twelve o'clock; all is well; Cornwallis is taken!"

CHAPTER XIV

THE END OF THE CONFEDERATION AND THE FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL UNION UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

95. The States under the Confederation.—The form of government ratified by the States during the Revolution was a government without any real authority. Because of this recognized lack of power, and because authority was lodged in the individual States, men of ability preferred to serve their respective States rather than take part in the merely advisory functions of the general Congress. There was no national executive authority such as the President and his cabinet of today; there was no federal supreme court; there was but one house in Congress; and the States, whether large or small, had one vote each. Congress could declare war or could make alliances with foreign nations, but it could not raise troops or carry out the terms of a treaty. It made requisitions upon the States for money, but it could not enforce payment. Almost every influence in the colonies seemed to make for the untrammelled independence of each commonwealth. After the Revolution each State wished to do as it pleased, and was unwilling to acknowledge an authority superior to it in any respect whatsoever. They did not wish a federal government to exercise any more control over them than they had previously been willing to accord to the British king.

Notwithstanding this general devotion to the supremacy of the State, there were influences working for a stronger central government. The possibility of a common interest in western lands was one of them. Several States had laid claim to parts of the northwestern territory secured by the expedition of George Rogers Clark. New York claimed a portion as having been ceded to her by agreement with the Iroquois Indians. Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed

Territorial
claims of the
different
States

a portion within their parallels of latitude as being a part of their sea-to-sea charters. Virginia also had a charter claim to the whole of it, in addition to a claim of conquest and actual possession. This last was the strongest State claim, although, on the other hand, it was argued that the United States should possess in common any territory acquired during the war for independence. In regard to other western lands, Virginia exercised undisputed control of the present State of Kentucky; while North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia laid claim to western continuations by charter as far as the beginning of Spanish territory west of the Mississippi.

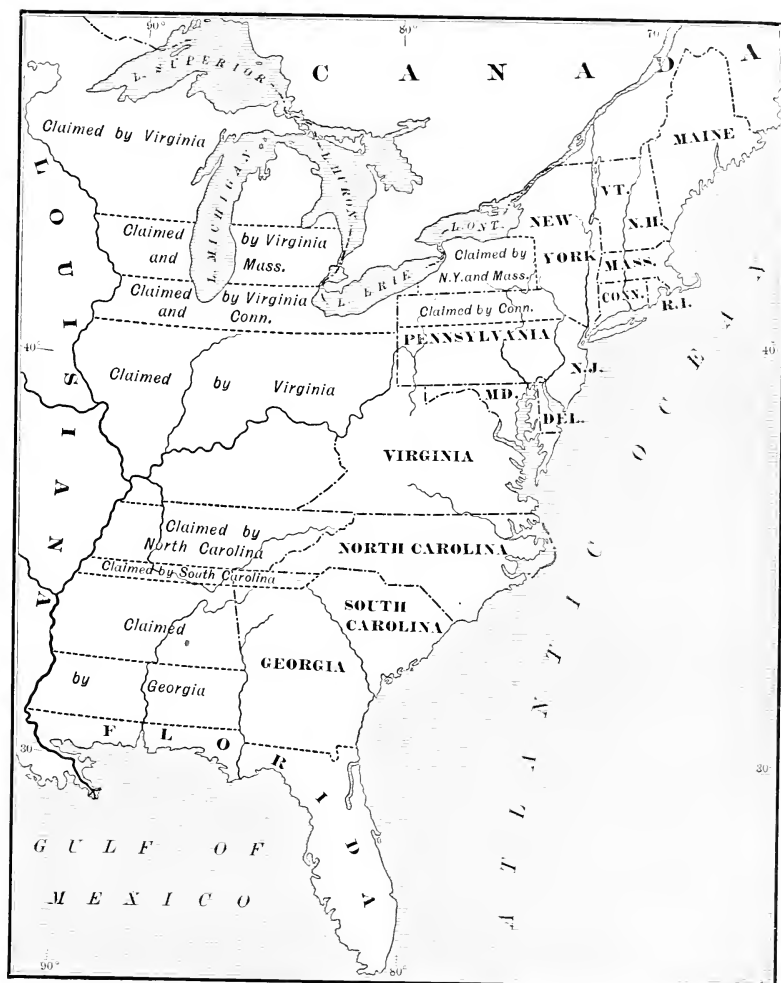
The western claims were regarded with considerable distrust by the States that had no such possibilities of expansion. These States feared that they would be swallowed up or dismembered by their stronger neighbors. Forthwith they denied the validity of all State claims and maintained that the western lands should belong to the general government until they could be made into States. More stoutly than others, Maryland insisted that she would not ratify the articles of the Confederation until the claims had been yielded. Consequently, in 1780, New York gave up her shadowy Indian claim to a portion of the northwest; and when Virginia, in 1781, had signified her willingness to give up her claims (subject to conditions made complete in 1784), Maryland, the last of the States to agree, ratified the articles of the Confederation, and the first Union became, thereby, an accomplished fact. Thus it was due to the insistence of Maryland on a guarantee of equal rights for the small States, and the generosity of Virginia in ceding her substantial claims to an empire, that the first form of federal government came into existence.¹

¹ Patrick Henry opposed this cession. As governor of Virginia, he had authorized Clark to conquer the Illinois territory with the troops and funds Virginia had provided; "For," he wrote, "the honor and interest of the State are deeply concerned in this." Massachusetts formally yielded her claims in 1784, but Connecticut insisted on a compromise in 1786, by which she

While still under the Confederation, Congress passed, in 1787, an ordinance for the organization and government of the north-west territory. The measure was urged by a company organized in the interest of a number of Continental officers and soldiers, who wished to develop the north-west under a definite form of government. Special provision was made for schools and education, religious freedom was guaranteed to all, and, in accordance with the original plan of government drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, himself a slaveholder, slavery was forbidden. The five great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were eventually formed out of this territory. In 1789, Marietta, Ohio, was founded as the first settlement established under the ordinance.

Peace and independence did not, however, bring immediate prosperity. Great Britain was no longer able to levy imposts upon articles imported into the former colonies; but she could and, for a time, did forbid United States trade with the British West Indies, except such as was carried on in British bottoms. She also placed imposts on American products exported to Great Britain in any but British vessels. Moreover, Spain, in spite of a three-sided alliance with France and the United States, refused to allow the Americans to trade with the Spanish West Indies. In consequence, the Americans lost their former trade with Great Britain and could find no substitute for it. The reason assigned by foreign countries for not making commercial treaties with the United States was the weakness of its central government, which could not guarantee the carrying out of the terms of such treaties.

secured a tract in northern Ohio which became known as the Western Reserve. South Carolina was the next to yield her charter claims to western lands in 1787; North Carolina followed in 1790, and Georgia in 1802. These cessions were made by the States on condition that the land should be sold to pay the debts of the general government, and that as the increase of population justified it, the territory was to be divided into new States to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the rest.



MAP SHOWING STATE CLAIMS TO WESTERN TERRITORY

But this was only one of the disadvantages under which the States were laboring. Each State could, and in many cases did,

Interstate trade fix tariff restrictions upon the products of its neighbors.

For example, New York placed a tariff on New Jersey products, and the legislature of New Jersey retaliated by taxing the lighthouse on Sandy Hook, which was put there for the benefit of New York trade. Similar disputes arose between New York and Connecticut and among other States.

At this time the only currency of definite value was foreign coin, of which there was little in circulation, because it had been

Currency so largely drawn upon to pay foreign debts. Neither

State nor Continental currency had any regularly recognized value, but some of the States passed laws to make their currency good for the payment of debts. Few people, however, would accept this paper money; debtors, as in England, were thrown into prison, and in many of the States riots took place, the most serious of which occurred in Massachusetts under Daniel Shays, known in history as "Shays's Rebellion."

96. Formation of a Stronger Central Government, 1786-1789.

In this crisis the confederated form of union seemed about to fall to pieces, but the seriousness of the situation suggested negotiations which immediately led to the formation of a new and more efficient plan of union and government.

In 1785 disputes had arisen between Maryland and Virginia as to the navigation of the Potomac River, in consequence of

First steps, Mt. Vernon and Annapolis which commissioners from the two States met at Mount Vernon. The commissioners decided to issue a call for

a convention representing all the States, for the purpose of considering the general regulation of trade. This meeting was to be held at Annapolis on the 11th of September, 1786. On this date the commissioners from but five States put in their appearance, and these wisely decided that they would await a fuller convention to meet in Philadelphia in the following May, not only to consider the regulation of trade, but to discuss the advisability of creating a more effective general government.

The result of this call was the gathering together of distinguished men from every State but Rhode Island in a convention which was in session at Philadelphia from May to September, 1787.

Some delegates came to this convention with the express purpose of opposing any change in the form of the confederated government. Others came with the definite purpose of establishing a new form of government that could and would command respect at home and

Constitutional Convention in assembly at Philadelphia, May, 1787

abroad. The strongest and most influential delegates with this end in view came from Virginia, among whom were Washington, Madison, Randolph, and Mason. Massachusetts sent Elbridge Gerry and Rufus King; Connecticut sent Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth; New York sent Alexander Hamilton, who had at Annapolis suggested the general call for a complete revision; from Pennsylvania came Franklin, who had returned from France and was destined to take an important part in the deliberations. Pennsylvania also sent Robert Morris and Gouverneur Morris, the first of whom subsequently planned a financial system; and the other, assisted by Jefferson, afterwards devised our decimal system of coinage. Delaware sent John Dickinson, and from South Carolina came John Rutledge, with Charles and C. C. Pinckney. George Washington was elected the presiding officer.²

The first move of importance was made by Madison, who presented a plan of government which was meant to do away with the old form altogether, and to substitute a new and more effective one in its place. This new government was to have real



ROBERT MORRIS

Born Liverpool, England, Jan. 31, 1734. Established partnership with Thomas Willing, merchant of Philadelphia, 1754; accumulated a fortune; was a member of Continental Congress 1776-78; his business ability was of such high order that he has been called "the financier of the Revolution." In 1781, he was elected superintendent of finance, and in same year, with approval of Congress, established the Bank of North America. Died 1806.

² Some of the delegates mentioned above did not entirely approve of the Constitution as adopted. Hence, their names do not appear among the signers.

powers delegated to it, and although these powers were to be limited, they were to be supreme in so far as they did not definitely encroach upon the reserved rights of the States. Madison's plan of union

Madison's plan provided for the creation of an executive to carry out the laws of Congress and a supreme judiciary that was to pass upon those laws.

The Convention, therefore, began to turn its attention to these new ideas, which were skilfully brought up by Madison and ably forwarded by Franklin and Hamilton. The first, serious obstacle toward forming a general representative government was the conflict of interests between the large and the small States. The latter were jealous of their more powerful neighbors and were afraid of losing their influence or identities as individual commonwealths. The small States argued that representation in Congress should be equal for each State, as had been the case under the Confederation. On the other hand, the large States maintained that such an arrangement would be unfair—that each State should be represented according to its population, and that it would not be right for States as small as Delaware or Rhode Island to have the voting power of States as large or as populous as Virginia and Massachusetts. Finally, a compromise was effected by which it was decided that the federal legislature should consist of two branches, one of which was to be a House of Representatives, in which the States were to be represented according to population, and the other a Senate, in which the States were to have equal representation.

Three other great questions involving conflicting interests were brought up in the Convention. These were: (1) differences between agricultural and commercial States as to the regulation of commerce, (2) the enumeration of slaves as part of the population on which representation was to be based, and (3) the continuance of the slave trade.

In the first place, the agricultural States of the south were opposed to imposts or tariffs on manufactured imports, except

such imposts as would be required to provide sufficient revenue for the national government. They were desirous, therefore, of making a two-thirds vote in Congress necessary in order to pass tariff laws. The northern States, on the other ^{First debates on the tariff} hand, desired that a simple majority vote in Congress should regulate trade, and that tariff imposts should be levied not only for providing revenue for the government, but for the protection and aid of American industries.

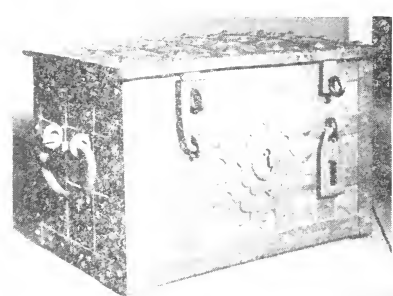
The far southern States argued, further, that additional slave labor was necessary for the development of their agricultural resources, to which the negro slave was especially adapted, as he was immune to the diseases at that time so frequently contracted in the heated lowlands. These States desired the continued importation of negroes from Africa. The New England States desired the continuation of this traffic for the reason that their merchants were making large profits from it, although several of these States had even then practically abolished slavery within their own borders. ^{First debates on slavery}

On the other hand, the middle States, especially Virginia and Pennsylvania, were opposed to the importation of additional slaves into America. A combination of interests was effected through a double compromise by which it was ^{The second compromise} agreed that a simple majority in Congress should regulate trade and tariff duties, while the African slave trade was permitted to continue until 1808.

Another dispute concerning representation and slavery became largely a sectional one, since the great bulk of slaves were in the States south of Pennsylvania. A number of northern delegates were desirous of excluding slaves in reckoning population, chiefly on the ground that the slaves themselves had no vote or part in representation. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, urged exclusion as likely also to discourage the African slave trade. When, however, it had been first proposed to tax the States directly in proportion to population, John Adams had made a strong argument for a ^{The debate on representation} ^{Third compromise}

full count of the slaves for the reason that they were persons as well as property and, as such, producers of wealth just as the free laborers of Massachusetts. It was finally decided, therefore, that slaves were to be counted on a three-fifths basis in reckoning the representation of the several States; that is, five slaves were to count as three freemen.

Thus, through a series of compromises, the Federal Constitution was made possible and an efficient plan of federal government was created. This plan of government was to be submitted to conventions especially elected by the people of each State. The general Convention had declared that if as many as nine States should ratify the Constitution, the same was to go into effect in the States so ratifying it. Delaware



Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

STRONG BOX OF ROBERT MORRIS, "THE FINANCIER OF THE REVOLUTION."

was the first State to ratify the instrument, but in many of the other States a great struggle arose between those who favored the Constitution and those who opposed it. The former were called Federalists and the latter Anti-Federalists. The Federalists argued that a strong central government was absolutely necessary, and they argued further that if the proposed plan had defects, these defects could be remedied by amendments. The Anti-Federalists fell back upon the sentiment of local self-government that had previously made the colonies jealous of any outside control over their respective and separate governments. Many able leaders and patriots of the Revolution felt that the central government might use its power to oppress the citizens of a State or of a section.

It was not until July in the following year (1788) that as many as nine States agreed to the articles of the Constitution. Virginia gave them her assent with the express proviso, "That the powers

granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression."

New York incorporated a like provision in her form of ratification of the Federal Constitution. There was no protest made to ratification under these conditions, and there seems little doubt that the representatives of other States, while not directly declaring for the same principle of ultimate independence of action, felt that it was so generally understood and conceded by public opinion that there would be no contest to hold them in the Union should they wish to withdraw from it. North Carolina, a State that late in the year had sent delegates to the Convention, and Rhode Island, a State that had sent no delegates at all, did not accede to the Constitution and become members of the Union until 1789 and 1790, respectively.³

97. Departments of the Federal Government.—The government as formed under the Constitution was to consist of three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative branch, called Congress, was to consist of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the Senate each State was to have equal representation through two Senators, to be chosen by the legislatures of the States for terms of six years each. In the House, representation was to be based upon population, and representatives were to be elected by the people every two years. Congress was empowered to levy taxes and import duties, to issue patents and copyrights, to regulate commerce with foreign nations, to declare war, to provide for an army and navy, to establish post offices, to coin money, etc.

The executive power was to be placed in the hands of a President, whose principal duty it was to see that the laws of the United States were executed. He was empowered to veto bills, or make them of no effect, except when his veto should be overruled by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Congress.

³ Rhode Island ratified the Constitution with a written proviso similar to those of New York and Virginia.

He was to be chosen by electoral colleges, composed of electors from each State; he was to serve for four years, with the privilege of re-election. It was provided also that a Vice-President was to be elected for a corresponding term, and his duty was to preside over the Senate.

The Constitution provided that the judicial branch should consist of a supreme court with the power to interpret the laws enacted by Congress.⁴ The judges of the court were to be appointed by the President and were to hold office during good behavior. There were also to be lower courts which from time to time Congress was empowered to establish.

98. The First Presidential Elections under the Constitution, 1789.—Before the dissolution of the Confederation, its Congress provided for bringing the new Federal Constitution into operation through the election of a national executive, while the people of the thirteen States elected an entirely new Federal Congress. Presidential electors were chosen in January, 1789. There were no party organizations and the Constitution provided that the electors should be free to select whom they thought best for President. The electors were to be chosen the first Wednesday in January; they were to meet the first Wednesday in February, and their votes were to be counted in Congress the first Wednesday in March, which fell that year on the fourth. New York was to be the first meeting place of Congress, but it was not until the sixth of April that a quorum of the House and the Senate reached that city. The electoral votes were counted, and Washington was found to be the unanimous choice for President, while John Adams received the largest number of the votes for second place, and was elected Vice-President.

⁴ Since the interpretative functions of the Supreme Court were a later development under the Federal Union, the above statement, although everywhere accepted as true to-day, was not so accepted at first. The States frequently asserted such powers as are now ascribed to the Supreme Court, and one President, Andrew Jackson, claimed for the Executive an independent right to judge what was constitutional and what was not.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Make notes on some of the chief differences between the government of the Confederation and that of the United States under the Constitution.

2. It is not generally realized how separate and distinct were the former colonies. It would have been entirely possible for each one to have become a complete country in itself.

3. Some of the coins which circulated in the States (nearly all more or less clipped and therefore of varying value) were Spanish dollars, called also "pieces of eight," doubloons, pistols, guineas, gold johanneses, etc. Imagine computing a sale or any business transaction with such a variety of currency.

4. Suppose, on the other hand, when Jefferson and Morris were arranging for a decimal system of money, they had also arranged to establish a decimal system of weights and measures.

CHAPTER XV

ESTABLISHING THE GOVERNMENT—ADMINISTRATIONS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

99. Inauguration of Washington.—Washington was inaugurated on the 30th of April, 1789. Without delay he and the first Congress elected under the Constitution set to work to start the machinery of the new government. The different States had realized the necessity of sending to this Congress abler men than had been elected to represent them in the congresses of the Confederation.

James Madison was foremost in the work of interpretation and construction, while executive functions under the President were at first divided into three departments, which represented the beginning of the presidential cabinet. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, was appointed Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; and Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War.

100. Problems of the New Government.—The first question of moment which came up before Congress was one which is woven into the entire history of this country, and which has proved to be a constant source of debate, unrest, or irritation from that day to this. Broadly speaking, it was at first the conflict between the commercial and the agricultural interests, or between the producer of manufactured goods and the consumer of them.

In the agricultural communities the great majority of the people were growers of raw products and consumers of manufactured goods. Their representatives in Congress favored taxation in the form of tariffs or duties on imports as the simplest and least objectionable way of raising the money necessary to carry on the work of the Federal government. They did not wish, however, to make these tariffs any higher than was

First Cabinet

The tariff question

absolutely essential to provide revenue, and they objected to the making of tariffs for any other purposes.

The representatives of the manufacturing communities wished to take a step further than this in the matter of the tariff. They wished not only a tariff for revenue, but also an increase in the rates in order to protect American manufactures against competition with imported goods. This, they argued, was to enable them to begin industries forbidden in colonial days by Great Britain and to aid those industries that were already established.

It so happened that the northern States contained practically all the manufacturing communities, while the southern States were almost entirely given over to agricultural pursuits and interests. This discussion, therefore, brought forward sectional clashes in the new Congress. The theory of protection carried the day, and its growth, which was first stimulated after the second war with Great Britain, brought about the dangerous tariff dispute in South Carolina in 1831, and became a deep-seated cause of differences that led up to the armed conflict between the sections in 1861.

In 1790, on the accession of Rhode Island, the Union was complete with the thirteen original colonies in the bond of the new republic. When Rhode Island entered the Union, she provided not only for her possible withdrawal, but, as a requisite to her ratification, she insisted, in common with other States, on immediate amendments to the Constitution which would insure an expressed acknowledgment of the fundamental freedom of the people in matters of religious and civil rights, or an extension of the principles laid down in the Great Charter of English liberties of the thirteenth century.

There were ten of these amendments, the last of which was a general declaration of State rights designed to guard against the encroachment of Federal power, a further illustration of the prevailing devotion to local self-government characteristic of the colonies. The tenth amendment, afterwards the object of tremendous controversy, provided that, "The powers

A sectional
issue

Amendments
to the Con-
stitution

The tenth
amendment

not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."¹

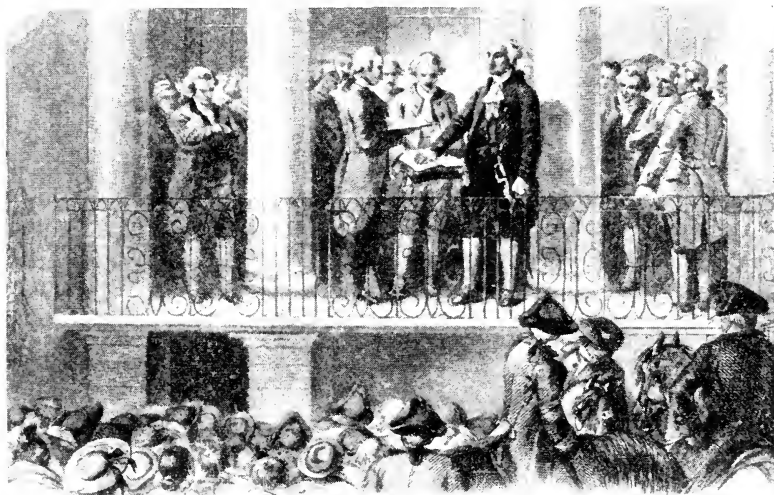
The second session of Congress under the Constitution likewise had serious problems to solve. The most important of these was how to meet the debts incurred by the Confederation during the war for independence. Washington had turned to Alexander Hamilton as the man capable of solving this problem, and he could not have made a better choice. Hamilton now submitted a plan by which the Federal government was not only to assume the debt of the Confederation but the State debts also. At first, objections were raised to the full payment of the general debt on the ground that, as speculators had bought in the certificates from the first holders at much less than face value, the Confederation, for that reason, did not owe these speculators the full amount of the original notes. There was also considerable opposition to the assumption by the Federal government of State debts. At first thought it may seem strange that the several States would not have welcomed a plan of payment that would have relieved them of the burden of their respective war debts. Such was not the case, however, and Hamilton's plan was opposed by representatives from a number of the States; because it tended greatly to enhance the prestige or power of the Federal government; and because it seemed likely, in equal measure, to encroach upon the sovereignty of the individual States. Moreover, this measure was opposed by the Congressmen from some of the States because their respective

¹ These amendments are believed by some to have been chiefly the work of George Mason, of Virginia, a neighbor of George Washington, and the author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, adopted June 12, 1776.

It is worth recalling that when President Washington made his semi-official tour of the New England States in the fall of 1789, Rhode Island was then "foreign territory," and he did not venture into that commonwealth until it had ratified the Constitution. In like manner, North Carolina was an independent State that for a time interposed itself between the middle States and the far south.

States had already paid a larger proportion of their individual debts than had other States.

The debate on this question was an extended one, notwithstanding Hamilton's masterly argument in favor of the plan he had proposed. Its opponents were powerful and they might have prevented its adoption but for a compromise in connection with another issue. It so happened that Virginia and a number of the southern States



GEORGE WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE AT INAUGURATION AS THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, NEW YORK, APRIL 30, 1789

had been the ones to pay the larger proportion of their respective war debts. At the same time, southern Congressmen were desirous of placing the proposed national capital on the banks of the Potomac rather than in the northern States where northern representatives wished it to remain. Finally, a compromise was effected, by which it was agreed that the Federal government should assume the State debts, and that the Federal capital should be established on the Potomac instead of at Philadelphia.²

² The debt of the Confederation amounted to \$54,000,000. The various war debts of the States amounted to \$25,000,000 more.

Another important question was brought to the attention of Congress in the form of petitions from the Quakers of Pennsylvania for the abolition of slavery. This question, however, had not yet become a sectional one involving bitter controversy and even more bitter animosities. A memorial was presented from the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, of which Benjamin Franklin was the president. These memorials were, for the most part, expressed in earnest but temperate language, and might have been signed by representative citizens from any section of the Union who were desirous of abolishing negro slavery. Congress, however, declared that, under the Constitution, this question could be decided by the States only, and that the Federal government had no authority in the matter.

101. Special Legislation of the First Congress.—At the second session of the first Congress the first naturalization laws were framed, and patent and copyright laws were passed in order to encourage invention and authorship. Congress also made provision for the first Federal census. This census showed a total population of 3,929,000. Virginia led in population, with Pennsylvania second, and North Carolina third.³

102. Origin of Political Parties under the Constitution.—The third session of the first Congress met in Philadelphia, where it was agreed that the seat of the Federal government should continue for ten years. Again the report and recommendations of the Secretary of the Treasury became the chief subject of controversy. This time Hamilton came forward with a plan to provide for a national bank, intended to strengthen the general credit of the government and to aid its financial operations. Again Hamilton aroused the opponents of centralization, who became known as strict constructionists of the Constitution, in opposition to those who would broadly construe or interpret its provisions.

³ Of the white population 1,900,000 were north of Mason and Dixon's line, and 1,271,000 to the south of it. 40,000 slaves were north of the line, over 600,000 south of it.

Madison, who had done so much to create the Constitution; and Jefferson, who had been the leading spirit of the Confederation, were now opposed to Hamilton on the constitutional ground that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution . . . are reserved to the States." The Constitution, said the strict constructionists, did not provide for a national bank.

Jefferson and
Madison op-
pose Hamil-
ton

On the other hand, Hamilton pointed out that in the first article of the Constitution there was a clause giving to the Federal government power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers."⁴ Hamilton, therefore, argued that the creation of a national bank was necessary as an aid to the government in its financial operations.

Hamilton secured the legislation he desired, and the bank was created with a charter that was to continue for twenty years. Its headquarters were in Philadelphia, with branches in other cities. However, the questions raised by Hamilton at this time produced a cleavage in political opinion on the basis of "strict" and "broad" construction that has had a continuous existence to this day. As a general rule, the party in power has been the one which declared for a liberal interpretation of constitutional questions, while the party in opposition has usually advocated a strict construction.⁵

"Strict" and
"broad" in-
terpretation
of the Con-
stitution

103. Further Hamiltonian Policies.—Hamilton also strongly recommended a policy of high tariff imposts coupled with provisions for internal improvements by the Federal government, such as the making of roads, water routes, and better harbors. He was not successful in securing this legislation, but his ideas are

⁴ This clause has since become known as the "elastic clause" of the Constitution, through which the power and authority of the Federal government have been extended far beyond the conceptions of its founders.

⁵ Exception may be taken as to this statement in reference to the attitude of the Democratic party, the only party of approximately continuous existence with the Republic. It is contended that, in the main, this party has stood for strict construction both in and out of power.

important in that they furnished the best arguments for the successful advocates of these measures in later times.

It will be seen that the Federal government was raising money almost wholly by indirect taxation through tariffs on imported products. At the same time, Hamilton suggested a plan for another form of taxation known as the excise tax, which was to be applied to the making of spirituous liquors throughout the country. This met with so considerable an opposition in the mountain districts, especially in western Pennsylvania, that Washington in 1794 was forced to call out a Federal army to suppress an insurrection, known as the "Whisky Rebellion." This opposition arose from the fact that in these districts there were almost no roads upon which the farmers could move their crops of grain to market. Consequently, they had been converting their grain into whisky, which could be more readily transported. The new tax, therefore, bore especially hard upon them. They felt that the people of the east were unfairly profiting at their expense.⁶

Immediate prosperity followed the adoption of Hamilton's plan for strengthening the credit of the government. Later, however, economic depression followed on account of over-confidence and the desire of people to become rich quickly through reckless speculation. This led to the first financial panic of the new government in 1792-1793.

104. First Accessions to the Union.—The first accession to the union of the thirteen original States was Vermont, in 1791. This commonwealth had maintained an independent existence since 1777. The inhabitants of the State had aided the patriot party in the Revolution and had applied for admission from time to time to the Confederation, but had been refused through the influence of New York, which State claimed

⁶ Albert Gallatin, a successor of Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, was concerned in the opposition to the tax as a hardship upon the western farmers, under the then existing conditions. He did not, however, approve of the proposed armed resistance to Federal authority.

its territory. Two years later the county of Kentucky in Virginia had so increased in population that it obtained the consent of Virginia to separation. Consequently, Kentucky organized its own government, applied for admission, and was received into the Federal Union in 1792 as the fifteenth State. In 1796, Tennessee, the first State carved out of territory definitely ceded to the Federal government, was admitted to the Union. Andrew Jackson, a future President of the United States, was elected to Congress as its first representative. Most of the territory of Tennessee had been originally known as the Wautauga settlements, and at one time it had claimed an independent existence as the State of Frankland or Franklin. This was due to some difficulties that had arisen with the parent commonwealth of North Carolina. Later, Tennessee became again a part of the mother State. This practical independence of the State of Frankland existed from 1784 until 1788, and should be compared with the independent existence of Vermont up to the date of its admission into the Union in 1791.

105. Indian Wars, 1790–1795.—The strength of the Federal government was early put to a severe test in a formidable Indian war in the northwest. The small Federal army was increased, and Generals Harmar and St. Clair were sent out against the hostile tribes. The former was badly defeated on the Maumee River near Fort Wayne, in October, 1790; and General St. Clair, the territorial governor, with an army of 1400 militia and regulars, was, in turn, surprised and defeated by the Indians near the same place in November of the following year (1791).

The news of these defeats reached Philadelphia and caused Washington and the government considerable anxiety.⁷ It also showed the need of sending out a leader of recognized experience and ability. Consequently, General Anthony Wayne was now selected to unite the troops that had survived the disasters under Generals Harmar and St. Clair,

First battle
under new
government
Victory of
General An-
thony Wayne

⁷ The anxiety of the government is plainly shown by the efforts made through commissioners or agents to sue for peace with the allied Indian tribes.

and to drill recruits near Pittsburgh and at Ft. Washington, near Cincinnati. After careful preparation, Wayne marched into the Indian territory and won a decisive victory in the important battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794.⁸

106. Washington Re-elected, 1792.—Washington's first term as President expired in 1793, and he was desirous of retiring to private life, but the need for his continuance at the head of the new government was so great that he was induced to serve for another period of four years. Accordingly, he was unanimously re-elected, and John Adams of Massachusetts again became Vice-President.



ANTHONY WAYNE

Born East Town, Pa., Jan. 1, 1745. Land surveyor prior to Revolution; joined Continental forces early in the War for Independence, during which he rose to rank of brigadier-general; served in Pennsylvania on retiring from Continental army; moved to Georgia to accept plantation offered him by that State and was elected to Federal congress, 1791; as major-general of Federal forces, took the field against the Indians after defeats of Generals Harmar and St. Clair, routing the allied tribes at the great victory of Fallen Timbers in 1794; nicknamed "Mad Anthony" for reckless daring in battle. Died 1796.

107. Formation of Political Parties.—It will be remembered that Hamilton and Jefferson had been chosen by Washington as Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of State respectively, but these men did not work together in harmony, and had very different views of government. Broadly speaking, Hamilton's ideas were similar to those entertained by the leading European statesmen of that day: that the government should be controlled or conducted by a select few, chosen from those who were well educated or from those who possessed property or had large business interests.

On the other hand, Jefferson was opposed to special privileges for any men or class of men; he firmly believed in giving all classes an equal voice or share in the government. The Hamiltonian view was said by its oppo-

⁸ This battle with the Indians is notable for the cavalry charge of the white men, and is interesting further for the adoption of advice given to Wayne by an old Indian fighter. This was to the effect that if the Indians were charged with shouts louder than their own they could more readily be put to flight.

nents to be aristocratic, if not monarchical, while Jefferson was accused of favoring mob rule, if not of promoting actual anarchy. Both wished for the success of the government, but they thought that success could best be brought about only through the adoption of their respective plans of procedure.

Washington earnestly wished to avoid any connection with one faction or party as against another, but when party differences became more and more distinct he was to some extent forced to take a stand with one or the other, and Hamilton's theories appealed to him more forcibly than those of Jefferson. At first Hamilton and his faction prevailed in shaping the policies of the government—he and his followers were called Federalists—while Jefferson and his adherents became known as Republicans or Democratic-Republicans, the founders of the Democratic party. On account of disagreements, both Hamilton and Jefferson retired from the cabinet, and each began to advocate his particular theories of government. Hamilton, Adams, Marshall, and C. C. Pinckney became the recognized leaders of the Federal party; on the other hand, Jefferson and Madison became the leaders of the Republicans, who were destined in a few years to prevail over the Federalists.

It is perhaps fortunate that the Hamiltonian theories were at first largely accepted and carried out, as through them the Federal government was the better enabled to gain the strength necessary to pass through the trials and difficulties of its formative period. It is also perhaps equally fortunate that the Democratic-Republican party gained

Federalist
and Demo-
cratic-Re-
publican par-
ties



ABIGAIL SMITH ADAMS

Wife of John Adams, second President of United States. Born Weymouth, Mass., Nov. 23, 1744; married John Adams on Oct. 25, 1764; left a number of letters of keen comment on men, manners, and measures of her day. In one of these, she writes to her husband: "I have taken a very great fondness for reading Rollin's Ancient History since you left me. I am determined to go through with it, if possible, in these my days of solitude. I find great pleasure and entertainment from it, and I have persuaded Johnny [afterwards the sixth President of the United States] to read me a page or two every day, and hope he will, from his desire to oblige me, entertain a fondness for it."

precedence later, as it served to correct the aristocratic tendencies of the Federalists, and the over-centralization of government, which would have deprived the States of many of their proper prerogatives, and which would have caused this government to lose some of the features that especially differentiate it from the governments of the Old World.

108. Foreign Affairs during Washington's Second Term.—In addition to the early internal dissensions of Washington's second administration, difficulties arose with three foreign nations. France had thrown off its monarchical form of government, and under popular leaders, among whom was Lafayette, had first established a moderate form of Republican government. This in turn had been replaced by one so extreme as to drive Lafayette himself into exile. The new government had instituted such a reign of terror and proscription that it had shocked conservative sentiment in both Europe and America. France forthwith declared war on neighboring nations, especially England. It now called upon the United States to redeem pledges of mutual help and assistance made in the alliance of 1778, but Washington and his advisers were unwilling to involve their country in a foreign war which seemed to them an unjustifiable one. Largely on the ground that the French government with whom the treaty had been made had been overthrown and that France was waging an aggressive rather than a defensive war, the United States government declared its intention to remain neutral. Even Jefferson, whose sympathies were naturally with the French revolutionists in overthrowing aristocracy and special privilege, could not sanction their subsequent excesses.

The Republic of France sent to this country as its minister Edmond Genet, called "Citizen" Genet. He was received in the United States with such popular acclamations that he was deceived into thinking that the government was going to be forced into alliance with France. He immediately set about organizing in United States ports privateering expeditions

The French
Revolution

Neutrality of
the United
States

Citizen Genet

to prey upon the commerce of England. Finally, however, he was rebuked by Washington for his over-zealous and improper conduct; and the United States government requested that he be recalled.⁹

Difficulties now arose with Great Britain with respect to the northwestern territory, the arbitrary action of British men-of-war in searching American vessels for British subjects, and the restrictions upon United States trade. Washington, Controversy and treaty with Great Britain therefore, felt obliged to send a special commissioner to England, and he selected Chief Justice John Jay for this office. Jay signed a treaty in November, 1795, which was received in this country the following March, and was ratified by the Senate at a special session held in June. The terms of the treaty became known shortly thereafter and, on the ground that it did not bind England to abandon the alleged right to search American ships and to impress sailors, it was violently opposed in the United States. It did, however, arrange for the surrender by the British of the forts in the northwest, and provided for the payment of indemnity for illegal captures of American trading vessels.

In addition to the disputes with France and England, the United States became involved in a misunderstanding with Spain. For a time the Spanish government threatened to repudiate a treaty made in 1795, by the pro- Difficulties with Spainvisions of which the settlers west of the Alleghanies had secured the free navigation of the Mississippi River, a matter of the greatest importance to their continued prosperity. These difficulties were finally adjusted, however, and development of the future States east of the Mississippi went on rapidly.

109. Washington's Farewell Address, December 17, 1796.—

President Washington refused positively to accept a third term; and on September 17, 1796, he issued a farewell address, notable for its wisdom and spirit of patriotism. In this address he warned his countrymen against party violence, sectional jealousies, and entangling alliances with the nations of the Old World.

⁹ Citizen Genet did not return to France, but married and settled in this country.

110. Presidential Elections of 1796.—In the subsequent election the Federalists put forward as candidate for President, John Adams, of Massachusetts, while the Republicans supported Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia. When the electoral votes were counted it was found that Adams was chosen President with 71 electoral votes. Jefferson, of the opposite party, having received the next highest number of votes (68) was elected Vice-President. This was in accord with the first method of electing President and Vice-President through the electoral colleges.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Section 99 gives the names of the three officials in the first Cabinet. Do you know the names of the members of the present Cabinet holding the same positions? The Cabinet is much larger now. Can you name some of the positions created since Washington's administrations?
2. About what proportion of the present United States did the Union embrace when the Constitution was ratified by all the States? Was the future site of the Federal capital nearly a central point then? Is it now?
3. In your opinion, did American slavery degrade or improve the condition of the African negro? Was slavery an advantage to the Americans, or could they have developed their farms better without the help of the negro? Would it have been better for both to have remained on their respective continents?
4. Which was the largest State of the original thirteen at the time of the ratification of the Constitution? Which is the largest State in the Union to-day?
5. Do you think the United States government was right in not helping France in return for the help France gave the United States?
6. Is there any subject brought up in Chapter XV about which you would like to read more fully?

CHAPTER XVI

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS—DEFEAT OF THE FEDERALISTS—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REVIEW

III. Difficulties with France, 1797–1800.—The administration of John Adams proved to be a stormy one. Fresh difficulties with France arose at the beginning of his term in 1797. The provisions of the Jay treaty had been offensive to the French government, but James Monroe, a Republican, had been acceptable as the representative of the United States. He was now replaced by Charles C. Pinckney, a Federalist from South Carolina. The French government resented the change and refused to receive the new minister. This was followed by hostile acts on the part of the French in the seizure of American ships and merchandise. President Adams called a special session of Congress, and John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry were, together with Pinckney, appointed envoys extraordinary to France.

Privately these envoys were received at Paris with courtesy, but they were not officially recognized for many months. While in Paris, however, they were approached by the emissaries of Talleyrand, the French minister, through whom it was suggested that if money were forthcoming in the nature of bribes or inducements to French officials, negotiations could be successfully concluded. These proposals were rejected by the American envoys, who, in the official correspondence to the United States government, referred to the three agents of Talleyrand as X, Y, and Z. When the nature of the "X.Y.Z. letters" became known, widespread resentment was aroused in the United States, a resentment that reacted favorably to the Federalist party.

Meanwhile the French government, elated over the wonderful victories of its young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, was disposed

to despise the weakness of the distant American republic. On the other hand, the very completeness of Napoleon's success aroused a coalition of European powers against France, and the French government had sufficient trouble to occupy it at home without provoking the active hostility of the United States. Nevertheless, in America, preparations for war went on, behind which there was an active accord of public opinion. Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, and orders were given for the buying and equipment of war vessels to be added to the small United States navy, which at



JOHN ADAMS

Born Braintree, Mass., Oct. 19, 1735. Studied law and became Colonial leader; took prominent part in Continental Congresses; moved the adoption, 1775, of Continental Army before Boston, with Washington at its head; after signing Declaration of Independence was (1777) appointed commissioner to France; had difficulties in latter country with Franklin; became minister to Holland; played important part in first treaty between U. S. and Great Britain; minister to Great Britain; Vice-President, 1789-1797; President, 1797-1801. Died on fiftieth anniversary of Declaration of Independence, 1826.

that time could boast of but three finished frigates, the *Constitution*, the *United States*, and the *Constellation*. The last named, under Commodore Truxtun, had sharp engagements with French war ships, defeating one and capturing the frigate, *L'Insurgente* (1799), in a fight which lasted over an hour, and in which the French vessel had 41 men killed and a large number wounded. The American loss was two killed. There was some privateering connected with these hostilities, but peaceful relations between the two countries were re-established by a convention signed in September, 1800.

112. Alien and Sedition Laws, 1798.—The Federalists, elated by evidences of popular favor, now sought to make use of the government to crush the more obnoxious of their opponents. Consequently, the Federalist majority in Congress passed the Alien Acts in 1798. One of these acts empowered the President to expel from the United States any foreigner whom he deemed dangerous to the peace and safety of the country. This act was aimed in a large measure at certain aliens who were editors of Republican papers,

and who had been especially offensive in the abuse of the administration. It was to be effective for two years only, and although the law was never put into execution it aroused a fear that such governmental power, if admitted in any case, might seriously endanger the liberties of the people. Another act passed in July of the same year caused even greater apprehension. This was known as the Sedition Act, which made it a crime to publish false or malicious writings against the government or Congress. It went further and provided for the fine or imprisonment of those who might combine in opposition to any measure of the government.

113. Opposition to Federalist Policies.—

The Federalists had now gone too far in their efforts at centralizing the government, and public opinion went strongly against them. The great Democratic-Republican leaders, Jefferson and Madison, felt that such policies as were represented by the Alien and Sedition Acts must be given up at once if the Union were to continue. Denunciation of these policies in Congress was considered useless, if such action did not render those protesting liable to criminal prosecution; so Jefferson and Madison¹ struck at them through the medium of two States. The former prompted the legislature of Kentucky to pass a series of resolutions declaring the Alien and Sedition Acts unconstitutional, and, therefore, "void, and of no force." The resolutions also asserted that each State could decide for



From bust by Houdon

JOHN MARSHALL

Born Fauquier Co., Va., Sept. 24, 1755. Studied law; served in Continental army during Revolution, becoming a captain; served in legislature of Virginia; argued for ratification of Constitution; special envoy to France under Adams; elected to Federal Congress, 1798; appointed Secretary of State in 1800; Chief Justice United States Supreme Court, 1801, serving in that body till his death in 1835.

¹ Madison's Virginia resolutions denounced the Alien and Sedition Act as "palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution," and asserted that the States "have the right and are in duty bound to interpose" in arresting unwarranted encroachments upon their rights and liberties.

itself whether legislation passed by Congress was within the scope of the powers delegated by the States to the Federal government.

Doctrines of nullification announced This represented the doctrine of nullification, an extreme form of State rights theory, set over against the Sedition Act, as an extreme policy of Federalism.

Both were fraught with danger to the perpetuation of the Union, although neither was intended to be made operative except in cases of great provocation, or as a last resort. Both, also, were framed by eminent founders and exponents of the Federal Constitution shortly after that instrument was put into effect.²

114. Federalist Dissensions and Downfall.—The sedition law of the Federalists secured a few convictions among the number of their bitterest enemies, but it proved their undoing as a party. Moreover, Washington had died on the 14th of December, 1799; and, although he had desired to be allied to no party or faction, it was known that he was more friendly with the Federalists than their Republican opponents. His death, therefore, was a blow to the waning influence of the party in power. Factions within the Federalist party itself hastened its downfall, since Hamilton was not at all favorably disposed to Adams, who was a candidate for a second term as President.

In the election that followed, Jefferson and Burr, Republicans, received 73 votes each and Adams 65. The House of Representatives, being called upon to decide between the two candidates, chose Jefferson for President. Burr, by virtue of having the next highest vote, became Vice-President.

The Federalists were now defeated in both the executive and the legislative branches of the government, but, before Adams retired from the Presidency, he made as many appointments in the Federal judiciary as possible, so as to perpetuate Federalist principles in that department at least. Among these appointments was that of John Marshall of Virginia, as Chief Justice, who from 1801 to 1835 steadily

Jefferson
elected Presi-
dent, 1800

John Mar-
shall ap-
pointed
Chief Justice

² See section 97; footnote, p. 156.

strengthened centralizing tendencies of Federal development. This he did by means of decisions broadly interpreting the "implied powers" of the Federal government through the "elastic clause" in the Constitution.

115. Social and Economic Review.—At the beginning of the nineteenth century the United States showed an increase of 35 per cent in population over the census of 1790. Vir- Population ginia and Pennsylvania still led in population over the other States, but New York had supplanted North Carolina for third place. The cities were not yet very large, and the trend of population was to the west. By the opening years of the nineteenth century half a million people had settled along the water courses and on the fertile plains beyond the Alleghanies.

There were at this time two States west of the Alleghanies and south of the

Territorial development Ohio (Kentucky and Tennessee), and one territorial government (Mississippi) formed in 1798 out of the region west of Georgia, and largely out of territory claimed by that State. To the north of the Ohio there were but two territorial governments. Both were sparsely settled. One covered the present State of Ohio, and the other, called Indiana, embraced the remainder of the north-west territory secured by the expedition of George Rogers Clark.

Agricultural methods and implements of all kinds were still crude and clumsy, but American inventive genius was no longer fettered by the former restrictions of the mother country on manufactures. The era of great inventions and discovery had begun. Washington had given great attention to



DANIEL BOONE

Born Bucks Co., Pa., Feb. 11, 1735. Accompanied his father to North Carolina in the early fifties, became a noted frontiersman and Indian fighter, chiefly in Kentucky, although advancing civilization and his own failure to secure titles to land led him to cross the Mississippi. Died 1820.

Inventions
and improve-
ments

books and theories on agriculture. He had encouraged by sympathy and interest, if somewhat frugally in purse, the efforts of James Rumsey, who on the Potomac at Shepherdstown, Virginia (West Virginia), constructed the first boat propelled by steam (1787).³

Rumsey's experiments in steam navigation were almost simultaneous with those of John Fitch on the Delaware and William Longstreet in Georgia, both of whom propelled vessels by steam power. It remained, however, for Robert Fulton, of Pennsylvania, to construct the steamboat that established itself for all time as a practical means of transportation by water. His first boat, the *Clermont*, made regular trips between New York and Albany in 1807. Fulton is, therefore, rightly called the father of steamboat navigation, although he was preceded by others in propelling boats by steam power.

Two of the greatest statesmen of America were also inventors and pioneers in fields of scientific research. These were Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. Jefferson, for instance, received a gold medal from the French government for the invention of an improved plowshare; while Franklin's experiments and discoveries in connection with electricity showed conclusively the identity of lightning and the electricity caused by friction. Franklin also demonstrated that the electric current itself might be artificially controlled or directed.

³ Letters from George Washington and others show that Rumsey constructed a model of this first steamboat as early as 1784. His first trip against current was made in a boat constructed after the design of his model. He had, however, neither money nor facilities to perfect his invention. Washington contented himself with writing to the inventor to beware of imitators, but Benjamin Franklin became interested in his plans and Rumsey was urged to go abroad to secure patents and extend his work. Just as he seemed about to obtain in London the financial assistance he needed, he became ill and died in England, December 23, 1792; and it is interesting to note that Robert Fulton, the father of steamboat navigation, was also abroad at that time studying Watt's steam engine, and, later, experimenting with submarine crafts for the French government. Cf. French claims for Jouffroy d'Abbans.

Another invention of the closing years of the eighteenth century was that of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney, a native of Massachusetts, who was teaching school and studying law at the home of General Nathanael Greene in Georgia. Whitney's invention greatly facilitated the separation of cotton fibre from the seed, a separation that had previously been done by hand.

Whitney's
cotton gin



"MONTICELLO," ALBEMARLE COUNTY, VIRGINIA; THE HOME OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

At once the cultivation of cotton became the leading industry of the Gulf States, and in seven years, or from 1793 to 1800, the export of southern cotton to the English mills increased from almost nothing to millions of pounds. Negro slave labor was not only well adapted to the raising of cotton, but it was considered essential to its successful development. This widespread belief made such labor doubly valuable in the far south and increased the activity of the slave trade until terminated in 1808.⁴

Increase in
cotton raising
and the value
of slave labor

⁴ Ships engaged in this traffic had regular routes from several of the New England States to the West Indies, whither they took merchandise to exchange for tropical products, especially sugar and molasses. They then returned to the New England coast, converted the molasses into rum and went from there to Africa. With the rum and with beads and trinkets they bought the ignorant savages of Africa. The slave vessels now returned to America and sold their cargoes in the southern slave markets. This continued until 1808 or

In the north, commerce and manufactures were added to agriculture and made for diversity of pursuits. In the south, on the other hand, African slave labor and the value of the special crops raised by that labor prevented or hindered diversity. Thus the sections grew more and more unlike in pursuits and interests, and, what is very important to remember, developed different needs or wants. The sectional conflict, therefore, between free trade or tariff for revenue, on the one hand, and high tariffs or protection, on the other, began and continued with but few interruptions until slavery, the principal cause of these differences, was abolished.⁵

Sectional differences

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Was this country prepared for a war with France in 1797? Would Great Britain have been likely to aid France or the United States? If the British navy had opposed France, could the latter's ships have reached America?

2. Section 113 tells of a clash between the authority of the State governments and that of the Federal government. In the beginning, at least some of the founders of the Constitution thought that the States should declare the acts of Congress unconstitutional. What authority decides such questions now—the State governments, the Federal government, or the Supreme Court of the United States?

3. Who was the man who more, perhaps, than anyone else enhanced the power and prestige of the Federal government subsequent to its establishment under the Constitution. See Sec. 114, last paragraph.

the limit of the license set by the Constitution. Clergymen in the north would return thanks for the safe arrival of these slave ships, and good people in the south would rejoice that more heathen had thus been brought over to be civilized and instructed in the Christian faith. On this point, it may truly be said that the negroes were vastly raised in the scale of civilization under their American bondage; but the conduct of this traffic and the methods used in the transportation and sale of the negroes were often extremely cruel.

⁵ It must be understood that the dispute between the advocates of a protective tariff and those of a tariff for revenue or free trade continued, but became non-sectional in character. Except for short periods prior to 1861, the high tariff advocates controlled Congress until 1913, when notable reductions were made in previously existing duties, reductions that were opposed by some of the southern Senators and Congressmen.

CHAPTER XVII

ADMINISTRATIONS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1801-1809: TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND THE TRIPOLITAN WAR

116. Jefferson's Views and Policies.—Jefferson entered upon his administration in 1801 with the theory that the States were to be the chief source of government, and the Federal authority or prerogative should be minimized as far as possible. He held that the functions of the central government should be confined chiefly to foreign affairs; and that, if this principle were put in practice, the Federal organization and duties would become simple and inexpensive, thus leaving to the respective States the self-government for which they had striven as colonies of Great Britain. Jefferson outlined these views in his inaugural address. He was sincere in advocating them, and he intended to carry them out; but during his administrations unforeseen events so shaped themselves that good judgment and broad statesmanship caused him to adopt a course which not only expanded the powers of the central government but rivaled Napoleon Bonaparte in adding to the domain of his country. Jefferson, however, acquired permanent possession through diplomacy and purchase; while Napoleon seized new territory by force of arms, and afterwards lost all that he had gained.

At the very outset of his Presidency, Jefferson was nettled by the action of his predecessor in appointing, literally at the last minute of his term, as many Federalists as possible to governmental positions. Jefferson denounced these "eleventh-hour appointments," and, as far as he could, he turned the appointees out. He selected James Madison as Secretary of State and Albert Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury.¹

¹ It was said that at the stroke of twelve midnight of March 3, 1801, the newly appointed Republican Attorney-General, Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts, walked in upon the Federalist Secretary of State, John Marshall, and stopped his counter-signing of commissions or appointments to office that had just been confirmed by the Federalist Senate. President Adams declined to stay in Washington to welcome a successor whom he at that time both disliked and distrusted.

117. War with the Barbary States, 1801-1804.—Just as Jefferson and his cabinet were beginning to carry out their policy of Federal economy, aggravated difficulties came up with the inhabitants of the Barbary States of North Africa.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Born Albemarle Co., Va., Apr. 13, 1743. Began public life as member of Virginia House of Burgesses, 1769-1774; member of Continental Congress, 1775; again a member in 1776, when he drew up the Declaration of Independence; Governor of Virginia, 1779-1781; member Congress of Confederation, 1783; United States commissioner abroad, 1784, later succeeding Franklin as minister to France; appointed Secretary of State under Washington; Vice-President, 1797-1801; President, 1801-1809; secured Louisiana territory and laid claim to Oregon country; in 1819, established University of Virginia; strongly advocated emancipation and deportation of negroes; was noted as philosopher and in many branches of science and art. Died on semi-centennial of adoption of Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1826.

These Mohammedan peoples had been preying upon the commerce of Europe and had exacted tribute even from the strongest nations. They despised the American Republic, which also had been paying tribute. Later, when the United States began to take over some of the trade that the warring nations of Europe were losing, the Barbary pirates, ignoring their treaties with the United States, captured American merchantmen at will.

Jefferson set himself to the task of teaching the corsairs of Tripoli and Algiers a lesson. He reorganized the small navy of the United States, successfully advocated the construction of additional frigates, and used them to good effect in European waters. In a short time the distant young republic had taught the piratical Mohammedans a respect for peaceful commerce that all the powers of Europe had failed or neglected to instil.²

118. Acquisition of the Louisiana Territory, 1803.—In the same year that war with the Barbary nations began, the United States was seriously threatened by the power and expansion of France. It was discovered that Napoleon had negotiated a secret treaty with Spain, the terms of which included the transfer to France of New Orleans and the whole of Spanish Louisiana. The United States had not as yet been recognized as a

Spain cedes
Louisiana to
France

² The nations of Europe, rather than engage in a concerted effort to suppress these piratical peoples, preferred to pay tribute for exemption from

first-class power in European affairs; but Jefferson let it be known that if New Orleans and the Mississippi passed under French control, he would seek an alliance with Great Britain and drive France off the seas. This threat apparently had no immediate effect, but when Napoleon in 1803 was again involved in war with Great Britain, he saw that he could not easily hold Louisiana, and he feared that it might fall into the hands of the British and thereby increase the prestige of his most powerful foe.

Jefferson had already authorized Livingston, the American minister at Paris, to propose the purchase of New Orleans and West Florida. As the negotiations progressed but slowly, he sent James Monroe to assist Livingston. Later, Napoleon offered to sell not only New Orleans but the entire Louisiana territory. This proposal was accepted by Livingston and Monroe. Consequently, a treaty to that effect was drawn up under date of April 30, 1803. By the terms of this treaty, President Jefferson authorized the purchase, for \$15,000,000, of a territory more than double the original area of the United States and greater than the combined area of France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and the British Isles.

Alexander Hamilton approved of the territorial acquisition thus secured by his political rival, but the Federalists of New England felt that the influence of their section was about to be lost in the expansion of the southwest. The old devotion to local or State interests, coupled with the fear of outside tyranny, now reappeared with unabated vigor, and the treaty was so violently opposed that the perpetuity of the Union was seriously threatened. It was argued that the

Napoleon
sells Louis-
iana to the
United States

Federalist
opposition to
the acquisition
of Louisiana

attack. Great Britain was secretly glad that these corsairs were capturing the merchantmen of the United States, as it was a blow directed at a dangerous rival. "If there were no Algiers, we would have to construct one," is said to have been the remark of a British statesman. In this war a young lieutenant, Stephen Decatur, especially distinguished himself by his courage on the sea and in the harbor of Tripoli. Moreover, the navy obtained a training in actual warfare which stood them in good stead in the second war with Great Britain, which was soon to begin.

act was extra-constitutional, and that if a single State should oppose the treaty it ought to be made null and void. The Massachusetts legislature declared that the acquisition of Louisiana "formed a new Confederacy to which the States united by the former compact are not bound to adhere." A separate union of New York and the New England States was proposed. In this scheme, or in order to unite the opposition to the Republican policies, the Federalists sought the aid of Vice-President Aaron Burr. Consequently, Burr was put forward as a candidate for governor of New York; but Hamilton worked against Burr and for his opponent, Morgan Lewis, with the result that Burr was defeated.

Angered by his failure, Burr accused Hamilton of slander and challenged him to a duel. As duelling was then generally sanctioned by public custom, Hamilton felt obliged to accept the challenge. The great Federalist had determined not to take the life of his opponent, but Burr fired with fatal effect, and Hamilton fell mortally wounded, July 11, 1804.³

The tragic death of Hamilton shocked the country, and as it was found that Burr had been the instrument by which the secessionists hoped to win over New York, feeling went hard against them even in their own section. This scheme of secession has been called a conspiracy, but the term conspirator cannot justly be applied to many of those interested in its success. It was in another form a renewed expression of the local patriotism about which colonial ideas of liberty chiefly centred. In this case the spirit of local patriotism was aroused by the fear

³ Burr thereafter conspired against his country from the outside. While he was still Vice-President, he entered into treasonable conferences with the British minister. Later, he sought to detach the Louisiana territory from the United States and therewith to set up a new country. It is believed that he was at first encouraged by General James Wilkinson, governor of the Louisiana territory, who himself had intrigued with Gates against Washington in the Revolution. Wilkinson, however, turned against Burr in 1806; and the latter, learning that President Jefferson had ordered his arrest, tried to escape. He was captured and tried for treason, but was acquitted.

that the influence of community and State might be wholly lost in an over-powerful central government, the increased prerogatives of which might, under a hostile majority, be used for purposes of oppression.

119. Jefferson Re-elected ; Further Plans for Continental Expansion.—The presidential election of 1804 followed these events and Jefferson was re-elected by an overwhelming majority, receiving 162 electoral votes against 14 cast for the Federalist candidate, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina. George Clinton, of New York, was elected Vice-President.

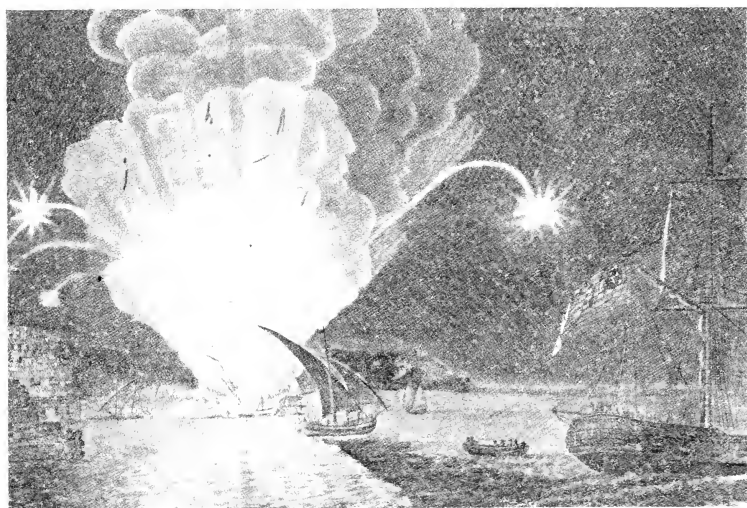


WASHINGTON IN 1800

The year in which the seat of government was removed to the future site of the "Federal City," as it was designated by the first President, after whom it was named.

Jefferson's dreams of peaceful expansion were not confined to territory thus gained. His mind turned at once to the unknown region extending westward to the Pacific from the upper boundaries of the Louisiana purchase, and lying to the north of the Spanish territory in and beyond the Rocky Mountains. He selected a young Virginian, Captain Meriwether Lewis, to lead an exploring party across the Rocky Mountains into the extreme northwest. Lewis, in turn, selected Captain William Clark, a younger brother of George Rogers Clark, to be his associate in the expedition. These two leaders and a small band of United States soldiers and Kentucky volunteers set out

from the banks of the Mississippi in the present State of Missouri in May, 1804. They ascended the Missouri River to its source, crossed the Great Divide, and descended the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, claiming the Oregon country, as it was called, for the United States. This journey was accomplished only after great suffering, hardships, and peril; but the explorers returned in



BLOWING UP OF THE "INTREPID" IN THE HARBOR OF TRIPOLI, SEPT. 4, 1804

This vessel had been fitted up with combustibles, and, in charge of Captain Somers and a picked crew, was conducted into the harbor at night. None of the crew was saved. It is believed that the men, finding escape cut off, voluntarily sacrificed themselves with the ship.

triumph after an absence of over two years. The expedition was an important one, its outcome was equally fortunate, and Congress hastened to make grants of land to the officers and men connected with it.⁴

120. Difficulties with Great Britain.—Before these happenings had reached a conclusion, however, there were rumblings of con-

⁴ Lewis had desired to head such an exploring party as early as 1792 when he was nineteen years of age. Jefferson had then suggested it to the American Philosophical Society.

flict, not with France, but with Great Britain. British captains on the high seas were again offensively active in the search and seizure of United States merchantmen, and in the impressment of sailors claimed as British subjects.

This state of affairs had been brought about partly by the bitterness of the war between Great Britain and Napoleon, now Emperor of France. Each struck at the commerce of the other, Napoleon through the ports of Europe controlled by him, and Britain through her power on the seas. The United States was the only civilized power not directly involved in the struggle. Her commerce was that of a neutral, but her neutral rights were not respected by either of the European belligerents.

Jefferson now proposed, and Congress passed, in April, 1806 an act prohibiting the

Non-impor-
tation and
Embargo
Acts

importation of British goods into the United States, the operation of

which was deferred until December, 1807, pending negotiations with the British government which proved futile. This was followed by an embargo act, which forbade shipment of American goods to supply the markets of Europe. Jefferson thought that these measures would result in bringing the European nations to terms, but the effect in the United States on both commercial and agricultural interests was disastrous. The southern planters had now no foreign sale for their agricultural products, while the New England merchants were shut out of a trade which furnished them with their principal means of livelihood.

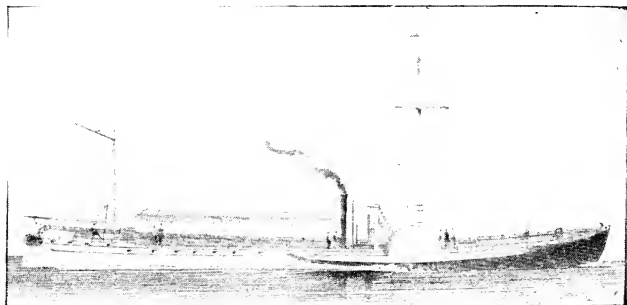
Although the embargo was evaded to some extent, the act was in effect throughout 1808, and the opposition to it in New England grew so violent that a British agent, John Henry, was sent from Canada into the New England States to promote dissatisfaction



MERIWETHER LEWIS

in the costume of the explorer. Born Albemarle Co., Va., Aug. 18, 1774; private secretary to Thomas Jefferson, 1801-1803; with Capt. Wm. Clark, he set out to explore the northwest, in an expedition extending over period of two years; was appointed Governor of Missouri territory, 1807. Died 1809.

and detach that section from the Union.⁵ In New England the embargo was called the "O Grab Me" act, a name derived from spelling "embargo" backwards; and the opposition in New England that section grew into a disaffection that seriously menaced the maintenance of the Union. The opponents of the embargo openly declared that Jefferson and the Democratic-Republican party were trying to provoke war with Great Britain. On the other hand, Jefferson maintained that by thus striking at British trade he hoped to compel the British government to come



THE CLERMONT, DESIGNED BY ROBERT FULTON, 1807

to terms without war. When a law was passed by Congress to promote the better execution of the embargo, it was called by New England Federalists the "Force Act." Many State officials either refused to obey this act or encouraged its evasion. Town meetings denounced it and the legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts laid down the doctrine of State interference or nullification.

These ominous rumblings of discontent, echoed to some extent in the middle States, caused the reduced Democratic-Republican majority to withdraw the more drastic embargo legislation which had been passed in Congress early in 1809; hence it was provided that the embargo itself was to end on March

⁵ On the other hand, the French minister at Washington was using argument to prolong the embargo as a blow to British trade.

4 of that year. In place of the embargo, a policy of non-intercourse with France and Great Britain was to be carried on until those countries showed evidence of respect for the rights of the United States as a neutral power.

121. Presidential Elections of 1808.—In the midst of these foreign difficulties and the internal unrest, the Presidential election of 1808 took place. Jefferson, following the example of Washington, declined to be a candidate for a third term, and the Democratic-Republican candidates, James Madison of Virginia and George Clinton of New York, were elected over their Federalist opponents, C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina and Rufus King of New York. The Federalists regained their former power in New England and swept that section largely by using the same State rights argument against Federal encroachment that had been used by Jefferson and Madison when the latter opposed the Alien and Sedition laws.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. One of Commodore Decatur's engagements against the Barbary nations has been spoken of as "the biggest little fight in history." This may be an exaggeration, but more extended accounts of Decatur's exploits make interesting reading.

2. Study the area involved under the terms of the Louisiana Purchase. How many of the present States and parts of States does it embrace? What is the largest city in this territory? Was any national notice taken of the centennial of the purchase?

3. Compare the Lewis and Clark expedition with that of George Rogers Clark in 1778-1779. Which led to the acquisition of the larger territory? (See map at end of volume.) What is the largest city in each?

4. So little was known and so much thought possible concerning the extreme northwest that the President gravely transmitted to Congress the report of "respected and enterprising traders" that 1,000 miles up the Missouri there was "a mountain of salt said to be 180 miles long and 45 in width."—McMaster: "History of the People of the United States," Vol. II. The historian Avery states ("History of the United States," Vol. II), that when Lewis and Clark set out, "the American consuls at Java, the Isles de France and Bourbon, and the Cape of Good Hope were instructed to render assistance should the expedition come their way."

CHAPTER XVIII

ADMINISTRATIONS OF JAMES MADISON, 1809-1817: WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN

122. Foreign Relations at the Beginning of Madison's Administration.—When Madison became President, there was a short-lived improvement in British-American relations; but the ad-



JAMES MADISON

Born Port Conway, Va., Mar. 16, 1751. Entered public life as delegate to Virginia Constitutional Convention, 1776; delegate to Continental Congress, 1780-84; called the "father of the [Federal] Constitution" on account of prominent part in framing that instrument in 1787; first a Federalist with Hamilton, later opposed Hamilton and became allied with Jefferson in establishing the Democratic-Republican party; appointed Secretary of State, 1801; President 1809-1817. Died June 28, 1836.

ministration was again forced to take up the obnoxious non-intercourse act with both Great Britain and France. Madison seemed even more anxious than Jefferson had been to avoid plunging the country into a war. But as events turned out, war with England or France became inevitable. Napoleon falsely proclaimed that he intended to revoke his decree against neutral commerce. This declaration deceived Congress, and the non-intercourse act was suspended with respect to France. Napoleon then issued an order seizing all United States shipping wherever he could reach it. This act was a flagrant outrage, but the United States government was in no position to compel reparation.

On the other hand, Great Britain had also been acting without regard to the neutral rights of the United States, and that country could be reached in the province of Canada, at least, where actual hostilities were soon to begin. During 1811 the Indians had been actively hostile in the northwest. General William H. Harrison was sent against them and in November defeated them at Tippecanoe Creek in the Indiana Territory. It was widely believed that the British either had instigated the

Indian troubles

Indians to attack the settlers or had aided them in preparing for war. This was apparently confirmed by a letter from General Harrison, who wrote that the Indians had been well supplied with the "best British glazed powder" and recently imported firearms.

123. Declaration of War against Great Britain, 1812.—A "war party" of younger men had now arisen in the Democratic-Republican ranks in Congress. The leader of these was Henry Clay, of Kentucky, who made impassioned appeals for aggressive measures against the overbearing conduct of foreign nations. When, therefore, Congress had heard Madison's message in June, 1812, reviewing British conduct toward United States commerce, Congress declared for war by an overwhelming vote.¹

Clay had extravagantly boasted that Kentucky militia alone could conquer Canada, but neither the war party nor the administration realized how poorly the country was prepared for conflict. The regular army consisted of but 7000 men, Country ill-prepared for war and the navy was absurdly small as compared with the mighty naval force of Great Britain. Yet this small navy was destined to accomplish a great deal, while the army was to meet with many reverses before any pronounced success was achieved.

First of all, a difficulty arose from the fact that the declaration of war had been carried by western and southern votes. New England and New York opposed it on the ground that it was unnecessary and that it would bring ruin upon the industries of the east. Opposition to the war in the north-east In the New England States opposition was so great that flags were placed at half mast, bells were tolled, and town meetings were called to denounce "Mr. Madison's war," as it was called. Moreover, the governors of several of the New England States were sustained by courts and councils in refusing to obey the Federal call for militia.

¹ Clay successfully opposed the sending of James Bayard of Delaware as an envoy extraordinary on a final mission of diplomacy. Had Bayard been sent, war might have been averted, as in the meantime, Great Britain, facing a tremendous European struggle, had revoked the Orders in Council and was sincerely desirous of peace with the United States.

124. Early Attempts upon Canada, 1812.—Added to this pronounced disaffection in one part of the country came early news of military reverses. In August, General William Hull, after a fruitless advance into Canada, retreated to Detroit and, without firing a gun, surrendered his army to a superior force of British and Indians.

The next two attempts at the invasion of Canada met with failure. In one case General Van Rensselaer succeeded in crossing the Niagara River with a part of his army, but the rest of the militia refused to march into foreign territory. His force on the Canadian side was captured near Queenstown after a short engagement, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Winfield Scott won commendation for bravery. General Brock, the British commander, fresh from the capture of Detroit, was mortally wounded. General Henry Dearborn, in command of an army on Lake Champlain, was unable to accomplish anything because the militia refused to press hostilities. In the northwest General Winchester was defeated with the loss of his entire force of 900 men.²



COMMODORE STEPHEN
DECATUR

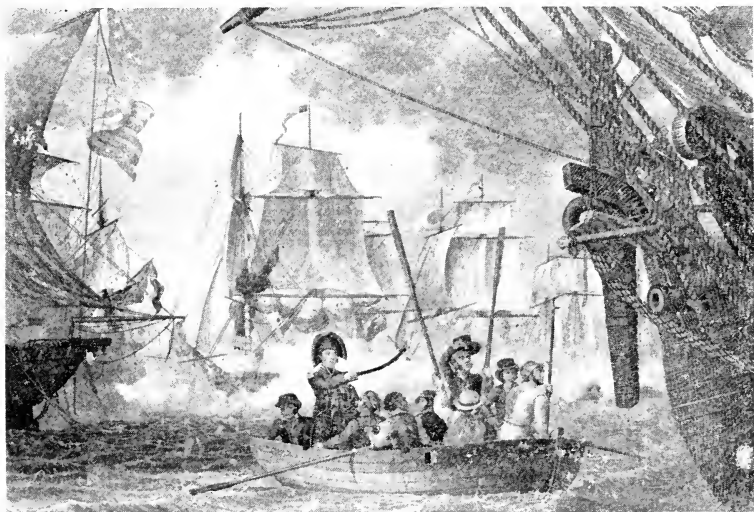
Born Sinepuxent, Md., Jan. 5, 1779. Midshipman U. S. N., 1798; took brilliant part in Tripolitan war; commanded the *United States* and the *President* during the War of 1812; again took part in action against Barbary States, 1815; appointed naval commissioner, 1816. Killed in duel with Commodore Barron, 1820.

125. Naval Operations.—Upon the sea, American success far exceeded expectations. On the 19th of August the frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull in command, defeated and destroyed the British frigate *Guerriere* off the coast of Nova Scotia. The accurate and overwhelming fire of the *Constitution*, together with Hull's admirable management, rendered the *Guerriere* almost a total wreck in less than a half-hour of fighting.

² This was at the Raisin River. The Indians massacred the captives, many of whom were Kentuckians. After that and up to the final fight at New Orleans, Kentucky troops went into battle with the cry: "Remember the River Raisin!"

The *Constitution* was superior in men and metal but the British fought gallantly and yielded only when their vessel was found to be in a sinking condition.

Hull delivered his prisoners at Boston and the command of the *Constitution* was turned over to Captain Bainbridge, who, off the coast of Brazil, defeated and destroyed the British frigate *Java* after a desperate engagement of two hours' duration. In the course of the battle Captain Bainbridge was twice wounded; but the American loss was small. The British



COMMODORE OLIVER H. PERRY CHANGING FLAGSHIP IN THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE,
SEPTEMBER 10, 1813

vessel upheld the honor of the British navy and struck her colors only when riddled with shot and after a loss of 161 in killed and wounded, out of a crew of 426. The year 1812 also saw smaller engagements on the sea and the beginning of highly successful privateering against British commerce.

126. Madison Re-elected, 1812.—The presidential elections of 1812 resulted in the re-election of Madison, with Elbridge Gerry as Vice-President. The Federalists and dissatisfied Republicans

supported DeWitt Clinton of New York and Jared Ingersoll of Pennsylvania.

127. Further Naval Operations, 1813.—The naval combats of 1812 had been deeply humiliating to the British, who had captured *Chesapeake* hundreds of vessels in the recent wars with France with vs. *Shannon*, June 1, 1813 a loss of fewer ships than they had already lost to the half-dozen American sloops and frigates. In June, 1813, however, the British frigate *Shannon* defeated the *Chesapeake*, commanded by Captain James Lawrence. The engagement took place outside of Boston harbor. The *Shannon* was well handled and its fire was accurate and terrible. In fifteen minutes the American frigate was riddled and helpless and her commander mortally wounded.

With Lawrence's dying appeal, "Don't give up the ship," as the motto, Captain Oliver H. Perry equipped a small fleet for the purpose of wresting from the British the control of Lake Erie. *Battle of Lake Erie*, Sept. 10, 1813 A naval engagement followed on September 10, which Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence*, began by drawing the fire of the two heaviest British ships until the *Lawrence* was shot to pieces and four-fifths of the crew killed or wounded; but Perry, carrying his flag with him, transferred himself in a small boat to the decks of the *Niagara* and at once brought his remaining vessels into close action, in which he finally defeated and captured the British fleet.³

128. Campaigns against British and Indians.—Perry wrote briefly to General Harrison, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." Harrison was now enabled to advance upon the British land forces and their Indian allies under General Proctor and the able chieftain, Tecumseh. *Battle of the Thames* Harrison met the British and Indians on the Thames River in Canada, October 5, 1813. Tecumseh was killed in battle, his followers were scattered, and the British force was badly defeated.

³ The Americans had nine vessels, the British six; but the crews, vessels, and guns, taken together, averaged about the same in fighting strength. The British commander, Barclay, was one of Nelson's veterans; Perry was comparatively inexperienced.

In the south, Tecumseh had stirred up the Creek Indians in the Mississippi Territory. At Fort Mims, Alabama, four hundred men, women, and children were attacked by the Indians and nearly all were captured and massacred. Other settlers and friendly Indians made war on the Creeks, while General Andrew Jackson, with a body of Tennessee militia, was sent against them. Jackson conducted the campaign with great energy and success, breaking the power of the southern Indians in a battle at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River, March 27, 1814.

129. Last Campaigns on the Canadian Border, 1814.—Fighting on the New York-Canadian border was carried on with varying success. Raids were made and property was destroyed first by one side and then by the other. On one of these occasions, some subordinate American officers were guilty of burning the public buildings of Toronto.

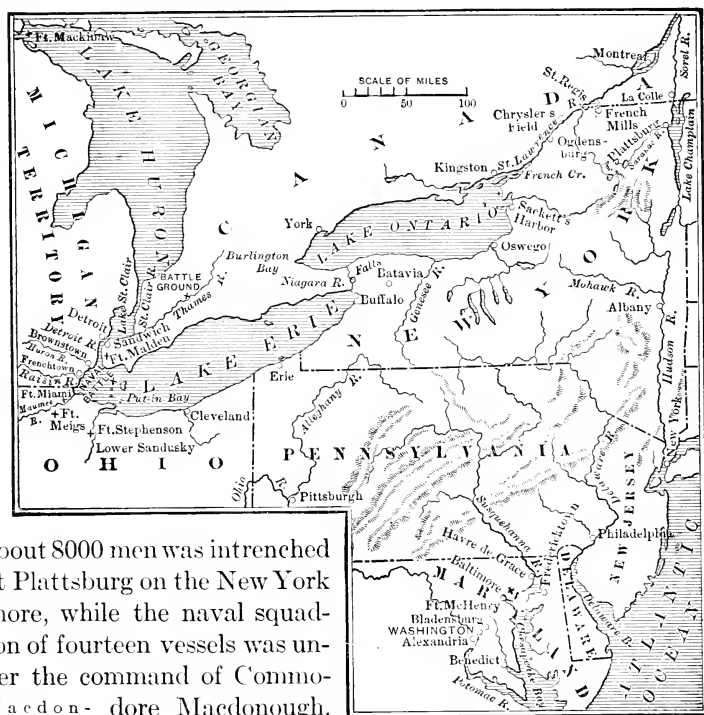


NEW ORLEANS AND THE CREEK WAR

In the summer of 1814, however, there were several sharp engagements resulting from a last attempt by the Americans to invade Canada. A bloody encounter occurred at Lundy's Lane, near Niagara Falls, in which the American commander, General Jacob Brown, was seriously wounded. This battle Battle of
Lundy's Lane
July 23, 1814 was, perhaps, the most stubbornly contested engagement of the war. The American loss was 743 men out of a force of 3000, while the British lost 878 men out of a force somewhat larger. Although the British had been driven back at all points, the Americans were not able to hold their position and were forced to retire to Fort Erie.⁴

⁴ General Winfield Scott some weeks previously had defeated a British force at Chippewa, Canada.

The United States were now in turn to be attacked from the north. The British selected the water route by Lake Champlain, and prepared to invade the States with a land force of 14,000 men under Sir George Prevost and a fleet of sixteen vessels on Lake Champlain under Commander Downie. The American land force of



about 8000 men was intrenched at Plattsburg on the New York shore, while the naval squadron of fourteen vessels was under the command of Commodore Macdonough. Both land and naval forces met in battle on the 11th of September. Macdonough, in the course of a two-hour conflict, got the better of his antagonist, captured some of the British fleet and dispersed the rest. This practically decided the result of the land engagement, and the British retreated into Canada.

NORTHERN BATTLEFIELDS OF THE WAR OF 1812-1815

130. British Invasion of Maryland, 1814.—While this campaign was going on in northern New York, the British were landing an invading force on Chesapeake Bay in Maryland. At Bladensburg they defeated the militia gathered to oppose their progress and then advanced upon Washington.⁵ Here they burned public buildings and private dwellings, in retaliation, it was claimed, for the destruction by the Americans of public buildings at Toronto.

The British fleet and transports advanced next upon Baltimore. At North Point they disembarked about 8000 troops under General Ross. At the

Repulse of the British at Baltimore, Sept. 12-14, 1814

same time, their warships prepared to bombard Fort McHenry at the entrance to the harbor. A force of three thousand militia under General Samuel Smith was prepared to dispute the further progress of the British. The advance

forces of both armies met unexpectedly on September 12, 1814, and General Ross was mortally wounded while riding at the head of his troops. A sharp engagement followed in which for an hour about 1700 American militia with-

stood the attack of 4000 British veterans until ordered to fall back upon the remaining reserve force, the British following with caution. The American losses in killed, wounded, and captured

were 213, while the British loss was 290. The assault upon Fort McHenry was begun on the 13th, and the bombardment was kept



DOROTHY PAYNE MADISON,

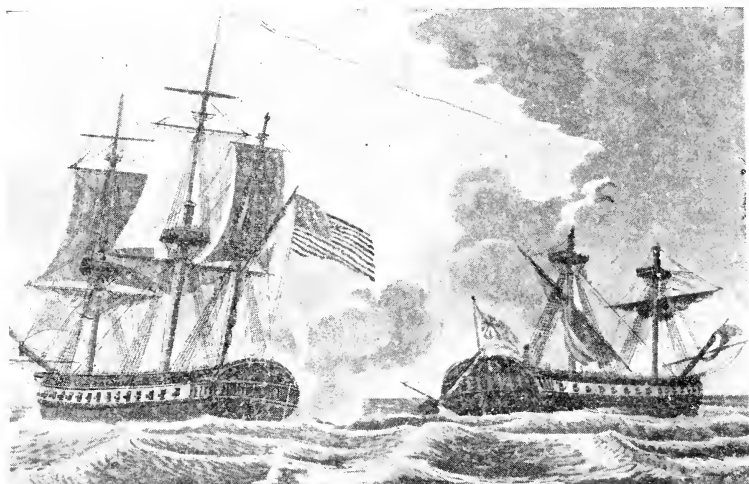
"Dolly" Madison, born North Carolina, May 20, 1768. Married James Madison, fourth President of United States, at home of her sister, Mrs. George Steptoe Washington, Jefferson Co., Va. Like Abigail Adams, "Dolly" Madison has left us interesting letters on the times in which she lived and took an active part. When the British captured Washington in 1814, the wife of the President writes from the other side of the Potomac: "Will you believe it, my sister? We have had a battle, or skirmish, near Bladensburg, and here I am still, within sound of the cannon! Mr. Madison comes not. Two messengers, covered with dust, come to bid me fly; but here I mean to wait for him."

⁵ The British loss (500) in this battle was over five times greater than that of the Americans.

up for 25 hours, during which a landing party of British was met and defeated. On the morning of the 14th, the sight of the Amer-

ican flag, still waving "over the ramparts," led Francis Scott Key to write the "Star Spangled Banner," the lines of which were jotted down on the back of an envelope while he was being held on board one of the British vessels.

131. Results of the Battles on Lake Champlain and at Baltimore.—The stout resistance of the American militia at North



CAPTURE OF THE BRITISH FRIGATE "MACEDONIAN"

Thirty-eight guns, Captain Carden, by the frigate *United States*, 44 guns, Commodore Decatur, after a sharp engagement of seventeen minutes' duration, Oct. 25, 1812.

Point and the failure to capture Fort McHenry caused the British to give up further attempts to capture Baltimore. The news of the British reverses on Lake Champlain (September 11) and at Baltimore (September 12–14) reached London in October and strongly influenced peace negotiations, which had already been under consideration. Both countries were now desirous of terminating hostilities. Considerable financial distress was felt throughout the United States, while British commerce suffered greatly from the operations of swift-sailing American privateers.

Peace nego-
tiations

132. Alarming Disaffection in the New England States.—In New England, where there had been dissatisfaction with the war from the beginning, the discontent assumed a most alarming phase. In addition to open opposition to Federal laws, it was now proposed in Massachusetts that 10,000 State troops should be called out, and a convention of representatives from the New England States be held. Delegates from Massachu-
 setts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island met at Hartford The Hart-
ford Con-
vention in December. After holding secret sessions for three weeks, they recommended the meeting of another convention to decide on a more definite plan of action. What this action would have been, had the war continued, is of course problematical, although it was generally believed that secession was contemplated.⁶

During November and December, negotiations for peace were progressing in Europe, and a treaty was signed at Ghent on Christmas eve, 1814. The British had been sufficiently
 successful in the conduct of the war to feel warranted Treaty of
Ghent, Dec.
24, 1814 in demanding a part of Maine, together with land concessions to their Indian allies in the northwest; but to these demands the American commissioners emphatically refused assent, and a peace was signed which left the status of things pretty much as it was before the war began. The British, however, tacitly gave up their alleged right of search and impressment.

133. British Invasion of Louisiana.—There was no cable to flash the news of peace across the Atlantic, and the war was continued by the belligerents in America in ignorance of the result of the work of the commissioners at Ghent. Clay's boasted conquest of Canada had failed; but his Kentucky riflemen had a chance to

⁶ If it be difficult for us to understand such an attitude at a most critical period, we must realize that the Union at that time was not as it is to-day. If the New England States felt aggrieved at what they honestly thought was the waging of an unnecessary war, which, together with the Democratic-Republican policies of non-importation and embargo, was apparently ruining them politically and economically, ideas of self-interest were more natural than a love for a government which seemed to them controlled by a party and a section politically opposed to them.

prove their mettle, when, late in 1814, the British attempted an invasion of the southwest. For this invasion, a force of 8000 to 10,000 men, commanded by Sir Edward Pakenham, landed below New Orleans and prepared to march against the city. Andrew Jackson, with 6,000 "hunting shirt men" of the southwest, constituted the American defensive force; but what this force lacked in numbers was more than made up in the energy and ability of their commander and the coolness of the men.



THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

On the morning of January 8, 1815, the British advanced to attack the Americans behind their entrenchments; but the Tennessee and Kentucky riflemen, four ranks deep, assisted by the Louisiana militia, at first reserved their fire and then poured an accurate and deadly rain of bullets into the ranks of the enemy. Reinforcements marched up, but no troops, however brave, could withstand the terrible fire of the western riflemen, and the British were compelled to retreat to their ships, having, within twenty-five minutes, lost 2000 men, together with

Battle of
New Orleans
Jan. 8, 1815

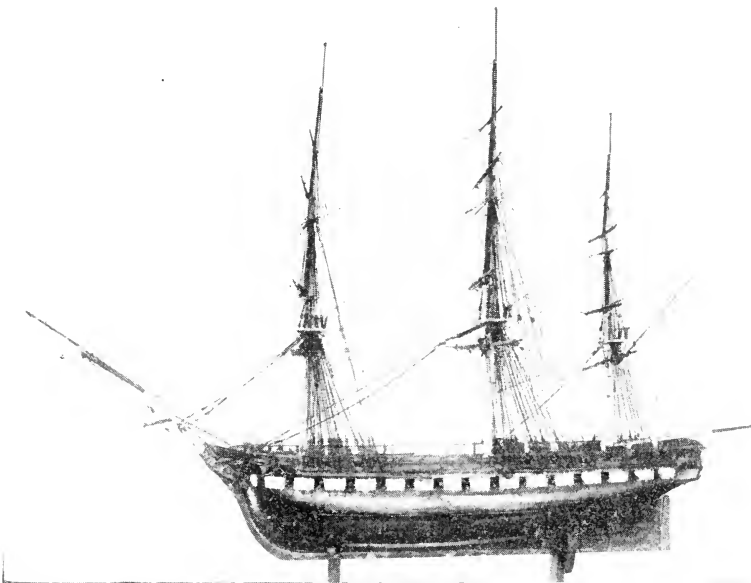
their commander. The Americans lost but 71 in killed and wounded. No British army had suffered a worse defeat, although the attack on New Orleans had been led by many of the same troops that had beaten Napoleon's generals in Spain; moreover, those surviving this battle were destined to share in the victory over Napoleon at Waterloo in June of that same year. Not only Great Britain, but the nations of Europe were profoundly impressed by this most brilliant engagement. From that time the United States began to be regarded with respect as a world power; and although the peace that had already been signed did not itself definitely settle the points in question, the United States government virtually gained its contentions.⁷

134. Admission of Louisiana.—Before completing the account of the War of 1812, it is necessary to revert to events involving territorial expansion in the years 1810–1813.

When Jackson fought his campaign in the southwest in 1814–1815, he fought on or went through territory that had been in the possession of the Spaniards five years before. It was then known as West Florida. In 1810, however, inhabitants to the east of New Orleans seized the fort at Baton Rouge, de-
Formation of
the State of
Louisiana
 declared their independence of Spain, and asked for annexation to the United States. President Madison did not officially recognize the revolution, but sent Governor Claiborne of the New Orleans

⁷ About two months after the treaty of peace and six weeks after the Battle of New Orleans, the *Constitution* fought perhaps the greatest battle of its career. After a long period of forced inactivity due to being blockaded by British fleets, she was again at large under the command of Captain Charles Stewart. On February 20, 1815, while cruising northeast of Madeira, she fell in with two British war vessels, the *Cyane* (34 guns) and the *Lerant* (21 guns). In point of metal, the British ships were superior; but the *Constitution* (50 guns) had the larger number of men (456 vs. 313). The *Constitution*, after a skilfully managed fight, captured both vessels, with a loss of only 4 killed and 10 wounded, while the British loss was 35 killed and 42 wounded. There were two other sea fights subsequent to this one. Of fifteen such ship-duels, the United States navy lost but three, a result that lent additional prestige to the western republic.

territory to occupy the region. A new State was eventually formed out of the New Orleans territory, and West Florida, as far as the Pearl River, was annexed to it. This State, named Louisiana, was admitted to the Union in April, 1812.⁸



Courtesy Trustees of Peabody Academy of Science

MODEL OF THE FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION" OR "OLD IRONSIDES"

Launched Sept. 29, 1797; designed, at cost of \$300,000, by Joshua Humphreys on original lines, adapted for speed and unusual weight of metal delivered in broadside.

When the question of admitting the new State into the Union was under discussion in Congress, considerable opposition to its admission was manifested by New England Federalists on the ground that it was extra-constitutional to add States to the Union, out of what was foreign territory at the time

Opposition
to admission

⁸ More of West Florida, as far as the Perdido River, was declared a part of the Mississippi Territory and possession taken in the name of the United States in 1813.

of its formation. Josiah Quincy, a leader of that party, declared in Congress that: "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of this union, that it will free the States from their moral obligations; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must."⁹ This question of southwest expansion was one of the grievances that led to the Hartford Convention, but opposition to it was less marked after the successful termination of hostilities with Great Britain.

135. Dissolution of the First United States Bank, 1811.—In 1811, the United States bank, created at the suggestion of Hamilton, was dissolved. Gallatin, the Republican Secretary of the Treasury, earnestly desired its continuance, but his party distrusted its power. Even in Pennsylvania, where the bank had its headquarters, the State legislature condemned it, affirming in the language of the Kentucky resolutions of 1797–1798 the right of a State to declare Congressional enactments null and void, a right that Pennsylvania threatened to exercise if the proposed extension of the charter was effected.

Nullification
sentiment in
Pennsylvania

136. Trouble with the Barbary Nations Settled, 1815.—Further trouble with the piratical government of Algiers was settled in 1815, through a treaty forced from the ruler of that country by Commodore Decatur, who was sent to the Mediterranean in command of a strong squadron of United States war vessels fresh from their victories in the war with Great Britain.

⁹ This expression, while it brought forth no direct action, in accordance with the doctrine thus declared, is important in that Josiah Quincy was proclaiming the doctrine of the right of a State to secede from the Union. Half a century later, Charles Francis Adams, also from Massachusetts, and a distant kinsman of Quincy, was conscientiously fighting in the Federal armies to keep Louisiana from doing what Josiah Quincy announced was not only the right but the duty of a State to do under objectionable conditions, the continued toleration of which the State itself was to be the judge.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. It should be interesting and profitable to review some of the events in Europe from the beginning of the French Revolution (1791) to the final overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo (1815).

2. Why was the War of 1812 unpopular in New England?

3. Select for more extended reading some engagement or event of the war.

4. It is interesting to note the number of American boys who got an early training in naval warfare during the War of 1812. On one occasion two boys from behind a screen on the deck of a privateer beat a drum and stamped about to deceive an overpowering number of prisoners into thinking that the American commander had a full crew on board. While the boys were playing this rôle the captain sent his prisoners ashore almost under the guns of a British frigate off Nantucket Island. (McMaster: "History of the People of the United States," Vol. IV.) There was no United States Naval Academy at Annapolis then, and boys who afterwards became noted American officers received their training on board ship at very early ages. Nathaniel Duncan Ingraham, afterwards hero of the Martin Koszta affair, and David G. Farragut, later admiral, saw service in this war. The former was under fire at the age of eleven. The latter was actually made prize-master of a captured whaler at the same age, while, on another occasion, his coolness and courage saved the *Essex* from capture by English prisoners then on board. (Maclay: "History of the Navy," Vol. I.)

CHAPTER XIX

ADMINISTRATIONS OF JAMES MONROE, 1817-1825: PERIOD OF GROWTH

137. James Monroe Elected President.—Madison, following the precedent established by Washington and Jefferson, retired to private life at the end of his second term. James Monroe, chosen as his successor in office, was elected by the overwhelming vote of 183 to 34 for his Federalist opponent, Rufus King, of New York. This election terminated the existence of the Federalist party in national politics. The Democratic-Republican party, upon which Federalizing issues had at first been forced, now of its own initiative took up some of the policies of Hamilton.



JAMES MONROE

138. Centralizing Policies Adopted by the Democratic Party.—A new national bank was created in 1816. This bank, like the one established by Hamilton and discontinued in 1811, was chartered for a period of twenty years. Another Hamiltonian policy taken up by the Republican party was a tariff for protection; and, coupled with this scheme, bills were passed through Congress appropriating large sums of money for improving the navigation of rivers and for building roads and canals, although these bills were vetoed by President Madison. All three of these policies, originally opposed by the Democratic-Republican party, were, temporarily at least, advocated by it; but the continuance of them after the payment of the war debt and the establishment of American industries led to a sharp division

Born Westmoreland Co., Va., Apr. 28, 1758. Served in Continental army during Revolution, rising to rank as staff officer; wounded at Trenton; member Congress of Confederation; with Patrick Henry, opposed centralizing features of Federal Constitution; elected U. S. senator, 1790; minister to France, 1794-1796; Governor Virginia, 1799-1802; commissioner to France (1803) with reference to Louisiana Purchase; minister to Great Britain; Secretary of state and later of war under Madison; succeeded Madison as President, 1817-1825; proclaimed "Monroe Doctrine" during second term. Died July 4, 1831.

of opinion, until opposition to the protective tariff finally became a leading principle of the Democratic party.

We have seen how Federalists and Republicans changed their political views somewhat according to whether they were in or out of control of the governmental machinery, or according to the demands or fears of State or local interests. It is important to understand why, therefore, the Democratic-Republican party adopted a different policy at the period under discussion. This change of view was due to the fact that the Federal government, after the war of 1812, required the same financial assistance which Hamilton had provided for after the war for independence. This recurrence of need seemed to require the application of the same remedy which had proved so successful after the Revolution. In the case of the harbor, canal, and road improvement bills, it was understood that these measures were proposed chiefly to placate commercial and trading interests.

The embargo, the non-intercourse acts, and the war itself had proved most effective in "protecting" American manufactures, since it had almost wholly prevented competition from abroad. A large number of manufactures of all kinds had sprung up and the manufacturers importuned Congress for tariff legislation avowedly based on the principle of protection. This appeal came from the northern States where the manufactures were located, but the Republican Congressmen from the south felt that in the midst of their political success they could afford to be liberal in temporarily supporting this governmental assistance, at least until the manufacturing interests were well established; a course which was also likely to gain for them new adherents, even though the policy proposed was at the expense of the agricultural communities they represented.

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, who later became the most prominent opponent of the protective tariff, was in 1816 the leading supporter of the proposed import duties. Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, who, with Henry Clay of Kentucky, subsequently advocated much higher

Need for
Federal leg-
islation

The protec-
tive tariff

Early tariff
views of Cal-
houn and
Webster

tariffs, was at this time opposed to the tariff as a measure likely to injure the shipping interests of New England, which he hoped to see restored to their former vigor and pre-eminence.

In a sense, therefore, the debate over the protective tariff of 1816 represented a struggle in the northeastern States between the carrying trade and the manufacturing interests. The triumph of the latter was ultimately to result in largely driving the American flag off the trade routes of the world. It represented also a conflict between the interests of the consumer and the interests of the manufacturer throughout the entire country; but, as manufacturing had not developed in the southern States, the question of tariffs became a fruitful cause of the sectional differences that finally produced fratricidal strife. From this time for half a century, or to the close of the War of Secession, there could be no real rest in the conflict of sectional interests; viz., the agricultural interests of the south and the steadily expanding manu-^{Historical importance of the tariff}facturing and commercial interests of the north. This conflict lies at the foundation of other sectional differences, such as the continual sectional struggle for the control of new territory as "slave States" or "free soil," the nullification issue in South Carolina in 1831, and secession thirty years later.¹

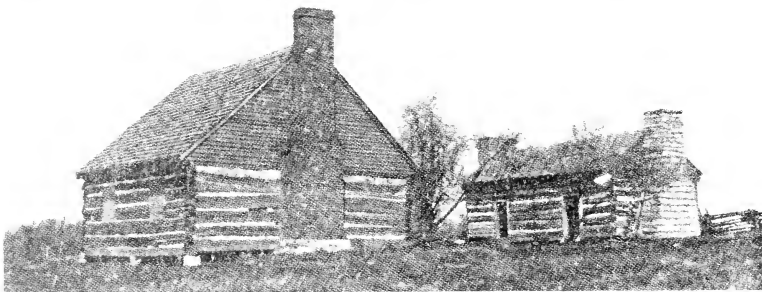
139. National Growth.—In 1816 Indiana was admitted to the Union as the nineteenth State, an event closely followed by the admission of Mississippi the following year. Steamboats now began to appear on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes. The Great National Pike was being constructed to connect the west with the east through Cumberland and Wheeling. Other roads were also projected, as in Georgia. In New York Governor DeWitt Clinton was pushing forward the construction of the Erie Canal ("Clinton's Big Ditch") from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, a distance of 360 miles. Soon it was considered wonderful that, by using relays of

¹ The student should carefully bear in mind that the protective tariff question is no longer, in the former sense, a sectional issue. After the abolition of slavery, manufacturing began in the south, and the differentiation of interests ceased to be so markedly sectional.

horses moving at a trot, light packet boats could carry passengers across the State in three and a half days. Travel by stage coach was improving, and a trip from Boston to Charleston could, under favorable conditions, be made in less than two weeks.

Post-offices had increased from a few score to several hundred; but postage was still very expensive, and varied according to distance. Stamps were not used, and letters were secured with sealing wax. Highwaymen were likely to "hold up" the mail on almost any of the routes.

At this time, or from 1816 to 1820, there was comparatively little political excitement disturbing the country. The Federalist party had almost passed out of existence and there was no organ-



BIRTHPLACE OF ANDREW JACKSON

ized opposition to the party in power, although minor differences arose within its own ranks. The decrease in political agitation and the increase in internal trade and commerce induced reckless speculation. The new United States Bank was badly managed from 1816 to 1818, and it was possible, under the lax laws of those times, for a great number of State banks to be chartered with permission to issue more notes than they could redeem in coin or legal tender. Farsighted men saw the inevitable result, but could not prevent it; hence, in 1819, an era of "good times" ended with general distress and suffering.²

² Massachusetts did not suffer so severely, since that State was one of the first wisely to control State banking interests.

140. The Seminole War, 1818.—During Monroe's first term, a dangerous complication arose with Spain, due to the fact that constant incursions were being made into the southern States from her territory in Florida. These incursions were carried on by the Seminole Indians, aided, in some instances, by runaway slaves; but the marauders were protected in Spanish territory, and, it was believed, encouraged or aided by Spanish settlers.

In 1818 the United States government sent General Andrew Jackson to the southern boundary to maintain order. Jackson, however, was not content with any course short of an invasion of

Jackson's invasion of Spanish Florida

Florida and the complete subjugation of the Indian trouble-makers. He therefore marched his troops into Spanish territory, and after the Indians had eluded him for a time in the southern swamps, seized the Spanish towns of St. Marks and Pensacola and ejected their Spanish garrisons. Further than this, in disregard of the principles of international law, he executed two British subjects for alleged participation in the Indian war. Jackson finally subdued the Seminoles, but in his high-handed actions with the Spanish and in the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, he placed the United States in an embarrassing position.



HENRY CLAY

Born Hanover Co., Va., Apr. 12, 1777. Studied law and moved to Lexington, Ky.; elected to Congress in 1811, he soon became Speaker of House and warmly supported war with Great Britain; served many years in United States Senate, where, on sectional issues, he became known as the "great compromiser;" was, like Webster, unsuccessful in his Presidential aspirations; supported protective tariff and favored internal improvements through Federal appropriations. Died 1852.

141. Purchase of Florida.—Jackson declared that the United States government had led him to believe that his seizure of Florida would be favorably regarded. The government officials denied any such implication; but the majority of the Representatives in Congress were either afraid or reluctant to rebuke the powerful and popular "hero of New Orleans," and the government had to deal with Great Britain and Spain as best it could. Although the United States was prepared to make restitution to

Spain, the Spanish government felt that it could never feel secure in the possession of the Florida territory. In 1821, therefore, a treaty was consummated by the terms of which Spain agreed to sell Florida to the United States for \$5,000,000.³

142. Partial Settlement of Canadian Boundary Line, 1818.—In 1818 a treaty with Great Britain provided for the settlement of the northwestern boundary of the United States. The dividing line was to be the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods on the northern boundary of Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains. The line west of the mountains was to be decided later, as both countries claimed the Oregon territory. It was provided, therefore, that settlers of both nations might occupy the disputed territory for a period of ten years.

143. Slavery Becomes a Sectional and Political Issue.—Foreign complications with Spain and Great Britain were thus settled amicably, but in 1820 there broke out domestic discord and sectional animosities, which Thomas Jefferson said sounded as dreadful as “a firebell in the night.” We have seen how the northern and the southern States had become different as to pursuits, customs, and habits of living. The chief cause of this differentiation was slavery; moreover, these differences became more marked as the North developed its manufacturing and commercial interests and as the raising of cotton became the chief industry of the South. Opposing political and economic interests were now to be drawn on sectional lines as they never had been drawn before. In 1817 there were twenty States in the Federal Union, ten of which were north of Mason and Dixon’s Line, where the manufacturing and trade interests were dominant. Here slave labor had almost disappeared, a fact that encouraged immigration and commercial development. The remaining ten States were south of the line and given over almost wholly to agricultural

³ This agreement settled United States spoliation claims against Spain. The treaty also set the boundaries of Spanish-American western claims along the lines of the Sabine, the Red, and the Arkansas rivers, and northwestward to the 42d parallel of latitude. Above that parallel, Spain gave up all claim to the Oregon territory, while the United States gave up its claim to Texas.

pursuits, maintained largely by negro slave labor. On account of this divergence of sectional interests, and because of sectional demands arising therefrom for free trade on one side and protective tariffs on the other, a struggle for the control of new territory arose that resembled the rivalry and mutual jealousies of nations. Henceforth, new States must come into the Union in pairs, one to be admitted on one economic basis, the other on a footing of opposing interests. This sectional balancing was first clearly recognized in the admission of Indiana and Mississippi, and the policy was extended when Illinois was admitted into the Union in 1818 and Alabama in 1819.

144. Beginning of the Sectional Struggle for New Territory.—

In February, 1819, however, the question came up as to the standing of the States formed out of the Louisiana purchase; for Missouri was knocking for admission into the Union as a slave labor State. A fight was at once begun for political control of Missouri and the whole of the Louisiana purchase. The North sought to increase its power by means of a new free State and the South insisted that Missouri be admitted into the Union in the way it desired admission, as a slave State. In the meantime, however, Maine had secured the permission of Massachusetts to separate from the latter State. She was seeking admission into the Union as a free State.

Both sides finally agreed to a compromise. Missouri and Maine were to be paired to preserve the balance of power, but slave labor was to be prohibited in the rest of the Louisiana territory north of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$, the southern boundary of Missouri. No provision was made for the future of the territory south of that line. In order to acquire new territory in the name of the United States, the South and the West united against the North and the East, and in every instance the former succeeded. This success led naturally to a powerful southern and western domination of the Federal government for the first half of the nineteenth century. The southern part of this dominating political influence was weakened when and wherever it

The "Balance of Power"

The fight for Missouri

The Missouri compromise, 1820

involved the question of slavery and its extension. When, therefore, the South sought equal rights for its citizens in the territorial acquisitions, the North secured the better of the Missouri compromise and all others. The slaveholder was steadily losing ground, for he was supporting a constantly losing economic issue. Before sectional controversy had arisen, the slaveholder voluntarily excluded himself from the northwest territory by the Ordinance of 1787. He was excluded by nature in the northern States, and in the Missouri compromise he agreed to exclude himself from the greater portion of the Louisiana purchase, while the rest was left in doubt.

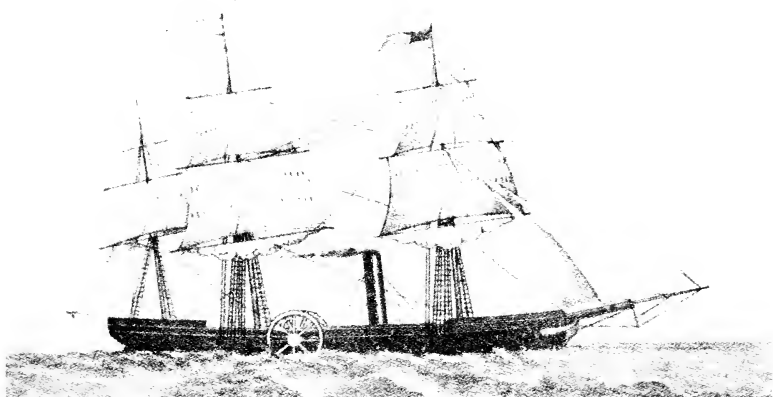
But the difficulty was not yet fully adjusted; for, at that time, in the west and northwest, there was a strong prejudice against the free negro.⁴ Consequently, when Missouri applied for admission in 1821, it was found that a clause of its constitution prohibited the immigration of free negroes into the State. As the free negroes had in some States become citizens of those States, they were, by the United States Constitution, "entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens" in every State. Weeks of angry debate ensued and there was talk in Congress of war or disunion. Henry Clay, however, was instrumental in persuading Missouri practically to give up its objectionable clause, and Missouri entered the Union as the twenty-fourth State.

145. Sectional Controversy.—It is important to bear in mind: (1) that slavery was a prime cause of the persistence of differences in industries between the North and the South, and that it also offered an ever-present theme for increasing sectional animosities through the denunciation of the South by a group of radical reformers and agitators in the North, provoking heated recriminations on the part of those thus attacked in the South; (2) that these differences in pursuits, interests, and sentiments gave rise to extended political and economic discussions; (3) that the alleged unequal settlement of the issues in dispute constituted the chief ground for secession in the South in 1860-1861; and (4) that the question of secession led

⁴ As late as February 12, 1853, Illinois enacted legislation making it a crime for a free negro to come, or be brought, into the State.

directly to the clash of arms in 1861 in a war waged to bring back into the Federal Union the States that had withdrawn from it.

Farsighted representatives in either section saw the probability of armed conflict. The South, however, had the greater reason to fear sectional agitation that tended to make the social status of slavery the basis of political action. Especially was this true as long as the interests of the South were bound up in agriculture and slave labor. Moreover, the presence of negro slaves repelled



THE SAVANNAH

The first steamboat to cross the Atlantic (1819). This vessel crossed the ocean from Savannah to Liverpool in 27 days propelled by steam and sail. A quarter of a century passed, however, before ocean-going steamers were considered practicable for freight or passengers.

immigration, and the natural increase in population could not keep pace with the double increase in the North. The South was, therefore, sure to lose numerical control of the House of Representatives, where northern majorities could enact such tariffs and subsidiary legislation as it pleased.

The South in a losing political struggle

She could hope only to maintain an even balance in the Senate; yet, as time went on, southern statesmen foresaw that she could not expect to hold as much as that, since the South could not command territory for new States sufficient to offset the free States that were sure to come in from the rapidly developing

northwest. For the South, such a balance was difficult and dangerous to maintain but politically fatal to lose.

The moral question involved in the extension of slavery was by no means predominant. The conflict was fundamentally a political and economic one, although there were many in both sections who argued against the continuance of slavery on moral grounds. Nevertheless, Thomas Jefferson, the greatest of the early advocates of the abolition of slavery, was later in favor of its territorial extension on the ground that by scattering the slave population it would become easier ultimately to abolish slavery altogether. He clearly foresaw that the moral side of the question would be perverted by politicians for selfish purposes or for party advantage.⁵

146. Re-election of James Monroe, 1820.—In 1820 there was no opposition to Monroe as the presidential candidate of the Democratic-Republican party. One elector, however, voted for John Quincy Adams, solely to prevent a unanimous vote, an honor he wished Washington alone to have.

147. Proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine.—During President Monroe's second term, it became apparent that the continental governments of Europe were seriously considering a plan to help Spain recover such South American countries as had declared their independence and whose independence the United States government had already recognized. Another menace to American peace and to the influence of the United States was the expansion of Russia on the western coast. Already that power had possessed herself of Alaska, and she was preparing to claim the Oregon country.

These designs on the part of European monarchies led to the proclamation by President Monroe of certain principles laid down in a message to Congress in 1823, the gist of which is: That any attempt by European governments to conquer or interfere with any independent American government would not be regarded

⁵ In 1835 a distinguished French traveler and historian, De Tocqueville, wrote that the struggle for political power between North and South was more like that of "hostile nations, than of rival parties, under one government."

with favor by the United States; and that the American continents were not open to further colonization by European powers.⁶

148. Division in the Democratic-Republican Party.—Tariff discussions were again given prominence in Congress during Monroe's second term; and these questions, together with the further agitation of the policy of internal improvements, were destined to split the Democratic-Republican party. In the matter of the tariff, all who were interested in manufacturing brought continuous and powerful pressure to bear upon Congressmen to make the protective tariffs of 1816 still higher and to extend them to other industries, such as hemp-growing in Kentucky, wool-raising in Ohio, and lead-mining in Missouri. By reason of a union of these interests under the leadership of Henry Clay, the tariff-for-revenue advocates were again defeated in Congress, and the protective principle was further extended. The tariff had now become more clearly than ever a sectional issue, for the people of the southern agricultural States received no better prices for their crops than before, while it greatly increased the cost of nearly all they bought. Consequently the southern States were solidly opposed to a tariff for protection. Some of the Representatives in Congress from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine at first opposed the bills on account of their injurious effects on American shipping interests, but the attitude of these States was soon to change under the influence of the increase in manufacturing.

The Protective tariff and sectional division

149. Visit of Lafayette.—The close of Monroe's administration was marked by the joyous welcome accorded Lafayette on the

⁶ John Quincy Adams, as Secretary of State, aided in formulating the Monroe Doctrine. In 1913 President Wilson indicated an extension of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine at a meeting of the Southern Commercial Congress at Mobile. In his address delivered upon that occasion, President Wilson declared that the United States was interested not only in maintaining the territorial but the economic independence and integrity of the South American countries. This declaration is based upon the fact that by gaining control of the resources of the Latin-American republics, foreign nations would be able to direct their politics and government.

occasion of his visiting the republic which he had so ably aided in its struggle for independence nearly half a century before. He visited the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon, where later was placed the key of the Bastille, the famous state prison of France, destroyed at the beginning of the French Revolution. Congress voted him \$200,000 and a township of land.

150. Presidential Elections of 1824.—In 1820 there had been but one candidate put forward for the Presidency. In 1824 there were four, all of whom professed to belong to the same party and to stand for the same general principles. These candidates were: John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, William H. Crawford of Georgia, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Jackson received 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. As the Constitution required a majority of the votes cast for election, the choice between the three securing the largest vote was thrown into the House of Representatives. Here Clay exerted his influence in favor of Adams, who was, therefore, elected.⁷

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Try to understand the principles of the tariff discussion presented in Sec. 138.

2. Review Secs. 143, 144, and 145 very carefully. With different economic and political interests, it was natural for the sections to oppose each other. It is unnatural and untrue, however, to represent either section as having been wholly wrong or wholly right.

3. In connection with Sec. 145, some special mention should be made of the work of the American Colonization Society, which was founded early in the nineteenth century for the purpose of transporting freed negroes to their former home, the continent of Africa. This movement led to the founding of the Republic of Liberia on the west coast of Africa. Here it was intended that the negro should learn self-government without control by or hindrance from the white race, which was forbidden participation in or franchise privileges under the Liberian government. The form of government was modeled after that of the United States. Try to find out more about this interesting effort by philanthropical Americans to colonize and civilize what was then known as "Darkest Africa." How did the plan succeed? Cf. "Sidelights and Suggestions" at end of Chapter XXII.

⁷ John C. Calhoun of South Carolina received a majority of votes for Vice-President, and was accordingly elected to that office.

CHAPTER XX

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1825-1829: DIVISION IN THE DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY

151. Political Dissensions.—John Quincy Adams was, like his father, unfortunate in having, as President, to face a time of political unrest and reorganization. One of his first appointments was that of Henry Clay as Secretary of State. As it was due to Clay's influence in Congress that Adams was elected, the followers of Jackson raised a loud cry of "bargain and corruption," a cry that had no foundation in fact, but which greatly influenced the opinions of thousands of people, and of General Jackson above all others. It was natural for Adams to select Clay for what was regarded as the most important office in the President's Cabinet, because Clay was most in accord with the views of the President; but bitter party controversy arose, which served greatly to increase the differences between the supporters of President Adams and those of General Jackson.

In both men there were great virtues and also notable weaknesses. President Adams had rendered valuable service to the country, especially in connection with its foreign affairs. In his relations with his countrymen, however, he was unfortunate; and, in the public mind, his good qualities and force of character were obscured by his coldness of manner and disposition, which, his opponents declared, indicated a lack of sympathy with the masses of the people. This accusation was probably unjust; he was, however, quite out of touch with the democracy of the "New West," which was then reacting on the east and calling for universal manhood suffrage. He was inclined to the old Federalist view in opposition to such a spirit. Jackson, on the other hand, was contrasted with the President as

Adams vs.
Jackson

a man straight from the ranks of the people, who had made his own way in life without the advantages of inherited position. This contrast was cleverly exploited by Jackson's campaign managers, and it greatly increased the natural popularity of the hero of British and Indian wars. The people admired the uncompromising fighting spirit of the man, and they felt that Congress had wronged him and them in setting aside his popular plurality in favor of another candidate.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Born Braintree, Mass., July 11, 1767. Educated abroad and at Harvard; minister to Holland, 1791; elected to United States Senate, 1802; supported measures aimed at Great Britain prior to war of 1812; minister to Russia, 1809, and Great Britain, 1815; United States commissioner at Treaty of Ghent; played important part as Secretary of State under Monroe; succeeded latter as President, 1825-1829; elected to Congress on Anti-Masonic ticket in 1831, but was confined in House until his death; opposed "gag rule" and upheld right of petition in Congress. Died 1848.

152. Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.—During the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, on the fiftieth anniversary of Independence Day, July 4, 1826, the country mourned the death of two of the most distinguished founders of the republic, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. It was an impressive coincidence. Adams had lived to almost a full century, or 91 years, and died the year after he had seen his son elected President; Jefferson was 83 years old at the time of his death, and had seen the rise of the "Jackson Democracy," led by a man he himself deemed "dangerous to the best interests" of the country; but whose success was partly the outcome of the Jeffersonian theories of suffrage extension. Although once bitterly opposed to each other, both men died after many years of cordial friendship.

153. Difficulties with the Creek Indians in Georgia.—An incident of importance during the administration of John Quincy Adams was the dispute between the Federal government and the State of Georgia, with regard to the Creek Indian lands in that State.

In 1825 Federal commissioners arranged with the Creeks a treaty by the terms of which the tribe was to give up its lands in

Georgia to that State in return for Federal land beyond the Mississippi. Some of the Indian chiefs refused to abide by the treaty, in the signing of which they claimed they had not been represented. The Federal government was inclined to uphold the claims of these Indians, and in 1826 made a new treaty which assigned to them some of the lands they claimed in Georgia. The State government of Georgia refused to acknowledge the second treaty and ordered a survey to be made for the general distribution of the Creek lands. When the Federal administration threatened to arrest or drive off the surveyors, Governor Troup replied that the State would resist by force of arms. Neither Congress nor the Administration seemed willing to take measures to enforce the decision of the Supreme Court, and Georgia was able to secure a third treaty, which eventually transferred the Creeks beyond the Mississippi.

Georgia defies the Federal government

154. The "Tariff of Abominations."—On the eve of the presidential elections of 1828 Congress passed a bill increasing import duties. This bill was so extreme in its provisions and so savored of partisan politics that it became known as the "tariff of abominations." New England was now ready to uphold the principles of protection, chiefly because of the decline of the shipping interests and a corresponding increase of manufacturing. Some of the Jackson Democrats from the west also supported this bill in an effort to embarrass Clay and Adams and to secure political advantage for themselves.

The southern States, already arrayed in opposition to the previous protective tariffs, were now inclined to resist by force, if necessary, a system of taxation, the burden of which fell chiefly upon them and from which they derived little or no benefit. State legislatures, public meetings, and commercial bodies declared the protective tariff unconstitutional. There was talk of nullification, secession, and even war. In South Carolina the opposition was most intense, and Calhoun, who had proposed the first protective tariff of 1816, was now forced to come forward as the leader against its extension.

Southern opposition to the tariff

155. Andrew Jackson Elected President, 1828.—In the meantime, however, a national election was held, and as Jackson and Calhoun were elected over Adams and Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, the more conservative southern leaders were able to postpone decisive measures in opposition to the Federal government, and to persuade the people to await the action of Jackson and a new Congress in the following year.¹ In this election the sup-

porters of Adams and Rush called themselves National Republicans, most of whom joined the Whig party in 1836. The followers of Jackson began to be called Democrats, the successors of the Democratic-Republican party founded by Jefferson. A short-lived party (1828–

J. Adams.

SIGNATURE JOHN ADAMS IN 1814

party were opposed to all secret societies; but they were especially hostile to public men who belonged to the order of Masons. It succeeded in splitting the dominant political parties in

1836), that also largely joined with the Whig organization in 1836, was that of the Anti-Masons. The members of this

Charles F. Adams

SIGNATURE CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, 2D, 1914

New York State, but achieved no great success in opposition to the immense popularity of General Jackson.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. John Adams and John Quincy Adams represent the only instance in United States history where father and son achieved the distinction of election to the Presidency. Four generations of the Adams family attained to eminence in the service of the United States government: John Adams, 1735–1826; John Quincy Adams, 1767–1848; Charles Francis Adams, 1807–1886; Charles Francis Adams, 2nd, 1835–. During the War of Secession, the first Charles Francis Adams distinguished himself by his ability as a diplomat at

¹ The electoral vote resulted: Jackson and Calhoun, 178; Adams and Rush, 83.

the Court of St. James; his son, Charles Francis Adams, 2nd, achieved distinction as a colonel in the Union army. At the close of the War of Secession he was brevetted brigadier-general, living thereafter to become an impartial historian of the events in which he himself took a prominent part.

2. One other family, that of the Harrisons of Virginia, has produced two Presidents of the United States: William Henry Harrison, 1773-1841; and his grandson, Benjamin Harrison, 1833-1901, who was born in Ohio.

3. It was during John Q. Adams's administration that gas was introduced more generally to replace lamps and the candles then so widely in use. Gas had been brought before the attention of the city council at Philadelphia as early as 1816. In that city, however, there was, on the part of the candle-makers, so much opposition to the new form of artificial light that Boston, New York, and Baltimore preceded Philadelphia in the use of the new light. At about this time anthracite coal came into general use.

4. Besides the defiance of the Supreme Court by Georgia in the case of the Creek Indian lands, there were two other instances of practical State nullification during the administration of J. Q. Adams. Martin Van Buren, Senator from New York and afterwards President of the United States, declared that Federal tonnage duties imposed upon New York canals would be resisted to the last extremity by that State. South Carolina defied the United States Courts by continuing to prohibit the landing of free negroes employed by United States and foreign vessels entering Charleston harbor.

CHAPTER XXI

ADMINISTRATIONS OF ANDREW JACKSON, 1829-1837: THE SPOILS SYSTEM—NULLIFICATION ISSUES BROUGHT FORWARD IN SEVERAL STATES

156. Political Changes.—The election of Jackson in 1828 marked a political revolution as had the election of Jefferson in 1800. The triumph of Jackson likewise introduced a greater degree of democracy in government, but with the new democracy came partisan administration and decreased efficiency in public service.

These changes arose directly from the fact that President Jackson believed not only in his own honesty, but also in the integrity of all who supported him. On the other

Personal
friendship
or dislikes
influence
political poli-
cies of Jack-
son

hand, he thought his opponents were not only mistaken but that they were actuated by base and selfish motives.

This extreme partisanship caused the President, therefore, to rely largely on the counsel of his personal friends. These friends were the men who had worked hardest for him, and who had helped him to secure political success by whatever methods they could devise, some of which were at least doubtful, if not vicious. Jackson, however, saw nothing but good in these close friends, who formed what was called his "kitchen cabinet." Under this system of political favoritism, private and personal considerations became magnified into affairs of national prominence and seriously affected the fortunes of political leaders and the fate of party policies.¹

One of the policies that appealed strongly to the mind of Jackson was the rewarding of his friends and the punishment of his opponents, a policy heartily encouraged by his campaign

¹ Only one member of Jackson's official cabinet was admitted into this private council and that one was his Secretary of War, John W. Eaton. One of his closest political advisers was Martin Van Buren.

managers, who chiefly profited by it. Consequently, Jackson began a general removal from office of those who had not been actively in sympathy with him, and he put in place of them his own political partisans. This was the beginning of the "Spoils System," which was to have a prominent share in the corruption of politics until curtailed by the institution of civil service reform. Up to this time the beginning of a new administration had not been marked by any general removal of minor officials. If the officials were considered qualified for their positions, they were continued. Now, however, all this was changed, and the removals under Jackson were fifty times as many as were those under all his predecessors in office; moreover, his adherents and supporters were given positions frequently without any investigation into their qualifications or fitness for the places to which they were appointed.²

Establishment of the "Spoils System"



ANDREW JACKSON

157. Final Closing of the United States Bank.

—One of President Jackson's earliest acts in his second term of office was to take measures leading to the final closing of the United States Bank. During the previous campaign for the Presidency, Clay had insisted upon making with Jackson a special issue in favor of the renewal of the charter of the bank, although the Whig leader had been offered a compromise that was satisfactory to the bank and to Jackson. Clay refused the compromise, Jackson defeated him in the elections, and as Presi-

Born Waxhaw settlement on border line between North and South Carolina, Mar. 15, 1767. Studied law and, after moving west, became first Federal representative from Tennessee, 1796; defeated Creek Indians, 1814; won battle of New Orleans, 1815; crushed Seminole Indians, 1818; elected President in 1828 and 1832; overthrew United States Bank; opposed nullification of tariff in South Carolina, while upholding Georgia Indian claim against United States Supreme Court; with Webster, an upbuilder of Federal prestige. Died 1845.

² It has been affirmed that John Adams suggested the use of government positions for purposes of party patronage when he filled the Federal judiciary with his appointments just prior to the inauguration of Jefferson; after which, on the other hand, the latter was accused of doing the same thing in his attempt to unseat the Federalists Adams had thus appointed.

dent promptly ordered that the government funds should be placed in State banks. Consequently, the United States Bank, not having the support of the Government, closed its doors.

158. Nullification Issues under Jackson.—During the Presidency of Andrew Jackson there arose three separate issues of nullification or opposition to the Federal government, brought up by four different States. In the first instance, Georgia successfully defied the Federal judiciary; in the second, Maine and Massachusetts refused to accept an international arbitration agreement entered into by the Federal government, forcing, by their threats of nullification, the Senate of the United States to reject the agreement; in the third instance, South Carolina prepared to resist the Federal Executive in the enforcement of an objectionable tariff law. In all these instances the States won their contentions; although the last case is cited as a victory for the Federal government, in that while Congress repealed the tariff, it at the same time announced the principle of Federal supremacy and laid the foundation for the theory of indissoluble Union, on which was based the successful coercion of the seceding States in 1861–1865.³



JOHN C. CALHOUN

Born Abbeville district, S. C., Mar. 18, 1782. Served nearly 40 years in House of Representatives, in Senate, or in Cabinet positions; prominent in declaring for war with Great Britain, 1812; Vice-President, 1825–1832; opposed war with Great Britain, 1816; favored protective tariff in 1816; opposed its growth, 1824–1832, proposing nullification as remedy; supported annexation of Texas. Died 1850.

Georgia nullifies a decision of the United States Supreme Court

From 1828 to 1830, Georgia took steps to bring the Cherokee Indians under its jurisdiction. This Indian tribe called itself a nation within the State of Georgia, and claimed the protection of the Federal government. The United States Supreme Court sustained the Indians,

³ President Jackson openly sympathized with Georgia in its opposition to a decision of the United States Supreme Court; he seemed to acquiesce in the action of Maine and Massachusetts in their defiance of a Federal treaty; but he declared his determination to use the power of the Federal government, if necessary, against South Carolina in the proposed nullification of the tariff.

but Georgia refused to abide by the decision, and President Jackson made no effort to enforce it. As the Federal judiciary relies upon the executive branch of the government to carry out its decisions, Jackson's inaction, if not open opposition, permitted Georgia without hindrance to get complete control of the Indians within its borders.⁴

In the meantime, a question had arisen with Great Britain as to the boundary between Maine and Canada. In accordance with the provisions of the treaty of Ghent (December, 1814), the matter was referred to an arbitrator; both governments agreed upon the King of the Netherlands, who awarded to Canada a strip of territory claimed by Maine. Forthwith Maine, together with Massachusetts (the latter State having an interest in the border lands), protested that if Congress ratified any such cession, both States would consider the action of the Federal government wholly null and void, and in no way binding on either commonwealth. Congress finally rejected the arbitrator's decision on the basis that the King of the Netherlands had exceeded his instructions, and the boundary line was not settled until some years later.

Before entering upon an exposition of the third and most important issue between State and Federal authority, it is necessary briefly to review events that led up to it in Congressional legislation and the presidential elections of 1832. At the end of his first term, Jackson's popularity was still very great, in spite of the disappointment he had occasioned his southern supporters by his apparent approval of the protective tariff. Consequently,

⁴ It is worth noting that the Cherokee Nation had established a government and civilization superior to that of other native tribes. They had gold mines, improved lands, and many of them were slave-holders. They were ousted by Federal force (some escaping to western North Carolina), but they set up a capital and resumed their form of government at Tallequah in the Indian territory. Many of the Indians took part in the War of Secession; and, in 1866, they made a separate treaty with the United States government, freeing their slaves.

in 1832, the Democrats re-elected Jackson by a large majority over his chief opponent, Henry Clay, National Republican.⁵

Although in 1832 some changes had been made in the "Tariff of Abominations," they were made at the instance of the manufacturers rather than in response to the demands of the agricultural communities for relief from its unequal pressure upon them. South Carolina, therefore, declared that the tariff was not binding upon that State, and took steps to carry a nullifying ordinance into effect. This action provoked an immediate issue between Jackson, on the one hand, supported by a majority in Congress, and South Carolina, under the leadership of Calhoun, on the other. The former prepared a "Force Bill" to put the army and navy of the Federal government at the service of the Executive in order to sustain the tariff laws, while South Carolina called upon her militia to prepare for resistance and possibly secession. Jackson issued a proclamation to the people of South Carolina, in the course of which he said: "The laws of the United States must be executed . . . my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you. Their object is disunion. . . . Disunion by armed force is treason."⁶ The President made it plain, moreover, that the army and navy of the Federal government would be used to enforce the collection of duties.

⁵ It is interesting to note that both Jackson and Clay were nominated by national conventions, which were first brought into use at this time. South Carolina gave her vote to John Floyd of Virginia and Henry Lee of Massachusetts. Vermont voted for William Wirt, leader of the Anti-Mason party.

⁶ Calhoun hoped to prevent disunion by putting forward nullification, the principle first brought forward by the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and by other States from time to time after the War of Secession. Jackson, however, had a few weeks before turned against his former political ally, largely on account of personal reasons; and, as in his controversy with Adams and with Clay, he misunderstood the motives of his opponent. The statement as to the "treason" of "disunion by armed force" was perhaps the first such expression from a prominent source. Compare with this the expression of Josiah Quincy on the floor of Congress in 1812. See page 201.

The South Carolinians were not of a race tamely to yield to a show of force. On the other hand, Jackson was one of them; for he had been born on the border between North and South Carolina, where, as a mere boy, he had received a sabre cut from a British soldier in the War for Independence. Everyone knew that he meant to carry out to the letter what he said he would do. Consequently, blood must have been shed had not Compromise arranged Clay come forward with a bill providing for the gradual reduction of the tariff until the duties should have reached a minimum of 20 per cent in ten years, or by 1842. This measure proved satisfactory to the South Carolina leaders, and they repealed the ordinance of nullification. A "force bill" definitely asserting Federal supremacy in the collection of the import duties was also passed by Congress as a part of the compromise, and both parties to the controversy claimed the victory.

159. Significance of the Issue.—It is important to examine closely the significance of this great dispute and to understand its far-reaching consequences. It was the first clearly marked issue between advocates of an "indissoluble Union" Original views of State rights, the evolution of Federal prerogative and the adherents of the older constitutional view of the sovereignty of the State within the Union and its right to withdraw from it. Both sides included sincere patriots and both loved the Union. That the States must be the final authority on questions vitally affecting their individual welfare seems clearly to have been the serious conviction of the founders of the Federal government. As the country grew, however, there arose a conflict between the upholders of State sovereignty and those who evolved the idea of a supreme nationality from the very expansion of the powers of the Federal government. In this conflict of opinion the viewpoint arising from or strengthened by evolution and growth ultimately triumphed, and this question was settled by force of arms after four years of war. Thereafter the Federal Union ceased to be regarded as a compact between sovereign States; it became an indivisible body politic, or unit, something feared as much by its founders as the authority

of the British Parliament. For nearly one hundred years, however, the source of the greatest insistence upon the doctrine of State sovereignty (embracing the right of nullification or of secession) depended largely upon what State or community felt aggrieved by the alleged aggressions of the Federal government.



DANIEL WEBSTER

Born Salisbury, N. H., Jan. 18, 1782. Achieved distinction as orator early in life; as Federalist, opposed war of 1812 as injurious to New England States and justifying possible withdrawal from the Union; member of Congress (N. H.), 1813-1817; moved to Boston; represented Massachusetts in Congress, 1823-1827; opposed protective tariff, 1816-1824; favored protection, 1828; opposed nullification (1832) and spoke strongly for an indissoluble Union; opposed admission of Texas; served in United States Senate and in Cabinet positions; opposed extension of slave territory, and condemned abolitionist excesses, 1850. Died 1852.

The first notable exposition of the theory of indissoluble union came from the lips of Daniel Webster in the United States Senate in 1830. This was set forth in reply to Senator Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, who had spoken on the question of nullification and the nature of the Federal compact. The matter which led to this famous debate arose in connection with a simple inquiry into the sale of public land, to which the eastern manufacturers were objecting chiefly because the western lands thus opened for settlement attracted eastern workmen, making labor in the east scarce and wages high. The Hayne-Webster debate was followed in 1833 by another equally interesting and important one between Webster and Calhoun, who had resigned the Vice-Presidency to represent South Carolina in the Senate.

The Webster-Hayne - Calhoun debates
1830-1833

160. Admission of Arkansas and Michigan, 1836-1837.—In 1836 Arkansas was admitted into the Union, and Michigan was admitted the following year as the twenty-sixth State.

161. Presidential Elections of 1836.—The Presidential elections of 1836 resulted in a victory for the Democrats, whose candidate, Martin Van Buren of New York, received a majority vote over all the other candidates.⁸ General William H. Harrison (National-

⁸ No candidate for Vice-President received a majority vote. Hence the election was thrown into the Senate, and the choice of that body fell upon R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

Republican or Whig) was the principal opposing candidate, although Hugh T. White (Democrat) of Tennessee, Daniel Webster (Whig) and W. P. Mangum (Whig) of North Carolina, received a few electoral votes.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Andrew Jackson was elected as the seventh President of the United States. Try to keep well in mind the names and order of succession of the Presidents. Every presidential election year is divisible by four; and, if it is desired to remember the successive dates, it is perhaps easier to begin and continue with the year of election rather than that of inauguration; as 1788-1792, etc., etc.

2. The shortcomings of Andrew Jackson as President serve to illustrate that a successful soldier does not always mean a successful administrator or statesman. Nevertheless, Jackson's term marked the beginning of a long line of military heroes, elected to the Presidency or at least nominated for that office. For some time to come it was the exception to nominate a man who had not had a military record.

3. Discuss the various nullification issues under Jackson. Could similar questions come up now? Cf. "Sidelights and Suggestions" at end of Chapter XX.

CHAPTER XXII

ADMINISTRATION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1837-1841: FINANCIAL DISTRESS; ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION; THE SEMINOLE WAR

162. Business Depression and Recovery.—The administration of Martin Van Buren was marked by a great financial panic which shook the whole country. It followed upon the heels of an era of expansion and speculation, begun during the preceding administrations and accelerated by Jackson's sudden overthrow of the United States Bank, an act followed by a Federal demand for specie from the State banks that had become depositories for government funds.

The rapid evolution of the steamboat had begun to develop the resources of the west and had greatly facilitated inland trade. This and the extension of American railway systems so increased property values that people speculated in real estate and other investments to a degree far beyond what the conditions justified.¹ Financial institutions were not safeguarded as they are to-day, and after the overthrow of the United States Bank, government funds were placed in State banks, which began to multiply to an alarming extent and almost without regula-

¹The first practical railroad prepared for steam locomotives was the Baltimore and Ohio, chartered in 1827 to operate from Baltimore to Wheeling on the Ohio River. The first section of the road was completed to Ellicott's Mills (13 miles) in 1830, and in that year the pioneer engine "Tom Thumb" was finally defeated in a race with a horse-drawn car over a part of that distance. The next practical use of the steam locomotive railroad was in South Carolina. The "Best Friend" locomotive, first used in 1830, was more successful than the "Tom Thumb" until it was wrecked the following year in an explosion caused by a negro sitting on the safety valve. In 1833 the Charleston and Hamburg line (137 miles) was the longest railway in the world. In the meantime, other railroad systems had been begun at Albany (N. Y.) and at Philadelphia.

tion. The government had lent out its surplus funds to the State banks. These had, in turn, lent them out on all kinds of speculative enterprises, too many of which were based on false pretenses. Consequently, when the government called upon the banks to pay specie, instead of notes or promises to pay, the banks were unable to comply with the demand, and a great panic ensued.²



MARTIN VAN BUREN

Born Kinderhook, N. Y., Dec. 5, 1782. Admitted to bar, 1803; elected to State senate, 1812; elected U. S. senator in 1821, serving in Senate until elected governor of New York; appointed Secretary of State by Andrew Jackson in 1829; Vice-President, 1833-1837; succeeded Jackson as President for one term, 1837-1841, defeating William H. Harrison, but was in turn defeated by Harrison in 1844; opposed annexation of Texas; strongly supported State rights; supported tariff bills of 1824 and 1828; rejected by Democratic convention in 1844, was nominated as Free Soil candidate for Presidency in 1848. Died 1862.

Great pressure was brought to bear on Van Buren to consent to schemes which would have given temporary relief, but which might have led to further and even worse financial trouble. The President, however, strove to free the financial system of the Federal government from the corrupting control of party politics. In 1840 he succeeded in securing the passage of a bill to make the Treasury independent in the management of its funds. His plan provided for subtreasuries in the principal cities.³

163. Canadian Border Troubles.—Considerable opposition was stirred up against the President on account of his conservative course in adjusting difficulties arising from a rebellion in Canada against British authority, for there were a number of Americans on the New York border in active sympathy with the rebels.

164. Anti-slavery Agitation.—Jackson's administrations had marked the rise into political notice of the extreme type of abolitionists. Many of these

² The government also required specie from individuals in payment for public lands. This led to additional demands on the banks for specie.

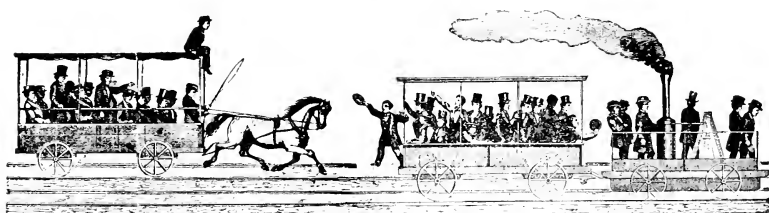
³ This law was repealed by the victorious Whigs in 1841, but was re-enacted five years later. Several States now began to prepare more stringent banking laws. In this action they were encouraged by the attitude of the administration. Especially was this true of Van Buren's own State of New York.

were so intense in their hatred of slavery that they wished or attempted to stir up the slaves in a revolt such as had taken place in San Domingo early in the nineteenth century. Although not advocating the last-named measures, the most noted of these reformers or agitators was William Lloyd Garrison, who established a journal (*The Liberator*) devoted to abolitionist activities.

These radical abolitionists, like all emancipationists, north or south, were right in what they wished to accomplish, but the language and methods of the former were intemperate and their conceptions of the slaveholder and his system were wrong and unjust. They were not only denounced by those more or less selfishly interested in perpetuating a system that supplied the manufactures of the North and developed the products of the South, but they were also opposed by the majority of patriotic citizens in the North on the ground that they rejoiced in stirring up strife, and that the very violence of their agitation made any agreement on a plan for gradual emancipation unlikely or even impossible. As time went on, they increased in number, and their constant denunciation of the South intensified the bitterness of the political struggle between the sections. Moreover, by the circulation of inflammatory appeals to the negro, the abolitionists stirred up in the South a resentment that effectually blocked the sentiment for emancipation in that section, especially in the border States.⁴ The extreme abolitionist openly and constantly proclaimed that war had broken out and that "the sword was drawn." Because it sanctioned slavery, Garrison declared that the Constitution of the United States "was a covenant with death

⁴ This was notably the case in Virginia, where emancipation measures had been brought forward and had barely failed to pass in the legislature of that State in 1832. The chief reason why Virginia did not free itself from the economic incubus of slavery was the fear aroused by the Southampton insurrection in August of the previous year (1831). This insurrection was led by an educated negro preacher named Nat Turner, assisted by a freed slave. In a night uprising of the negroes, fifty-seven whites were massacred, most of whom were women and children. It was believed that Turner was incited to this crime by the pamphlets of the abolitionists.

and an agreement with hell." For these and other utterances he was roughly treated in Boston, and his life was seriously threatened; in the South rewards were offered for his capture, and he would doubtless have fared badly had he ever visited that section. The southern people resented not only the intemperate abuse of themselves, but also the efforts to arouse in a general insurrection the slaves and free negroes. On the other hand, southern political leaders frequently attacked all abolitionists without discrimination. With the aid of northern Representatives, measures were passed intended to cut off abolitionist petitions in Congress, partly because of their offensive language, but chiefly on the ground that Congress had no authority in the matter.



After Brown's "History of the First Locomotive." Courtesy of D. Appleton & Co.

This drawing shows Peter Cooper's "Tom Thumb" locomotive in the act of passing a horse-drawn coach on parallel track. The race took place on the Baltimore & Ohio Railway from the "Relay House" to Baltimore, Aug. 28, 1830. The locomotive proved to be the faster, but broke down "under the extraordinary excitement," and the horse won.

It was natural that intemperate language and abuse on both sides should increase the political differences of the day between the North and the South. Communication between the people of the two sections was comparatively infrequent. Each section saw less and less of the good in the other, and coöperation and sympathy grew more and more difficult. The "good feeling" of 1820 was replaced by misrepresentation, mutual distrust, and enmity, feelings that were industriously cultivated by politicians and others who sought to derive profit from them. It may be said, therefore, that although the methods of the extreme abolitionists were wrong, southern leaders were also wrong in demanding the overthrow of the abolitionist press and the arrest of their orators. Although the

Results of
the agitation

Weakness of
the southern
position

Constitution extended protection to the institution of slavery, the position of the southerners was peculiarly weak. On the one hand, if the violent appeals of the abolitionists were permitted to circulate in the South, servile insurrections might be incited even among a people that bore their bondage lightly and were happier and more fortunate under its tutelage than they had ever been in the heathen regions of Africa. If, on the other hand, the southern leaders tried to suppress abolitionist literature by force and to arrest the abolitionists, they were placed in the position of attacking a free press and freedom of speech.⁵

165. Last Indian War in the East.—During the greater part of Van Buren's administration, war with the Seminole Indians in Florida caused much bloodshed and the expenditure of large sums of money. The Florida Indians were ably led by Black Drink, better known as Osceola, and he succeeded in putting off the transportation of the Seminoles for seven years, in which time there occurred innumerable ambushes, surprises, massacres, and open engagements. It was the last stand made by the aborigines east of the Mississippi River in resistance to the white settlers.⁶

⁵ President Jackson advocated the exclusion from the United States mails of incendiary publications intended to incite the slaves. The House of Representatives went so far as to prohibit (1838) the reading of petitions for the abolition of slavery, which were frequently violent denunciations not only of that institution, but of all slaveholders as criminals not entitled to the protection of the law. In 1840, the House resolved not to receive petitions at all. Ex-president John Quincy Adams was the leading opponent of this "gag" rule, and it was finally rescinded.

⁶ This war had been preceded in Jackson's first administration by an Indian war in the west in 1831-1832. The whites had seized ceded lands which, however, were still occupied by the Indians. The latter rose in an insurrection under the leadership of Black Hawk. They were at first successful and ravaged the country from Chicago westward, but their struggle against the white man was a hopeless one. They were finally defeated, Black Hawk was captured and taken to Washington, but was restored to liberty in 1833. The Black Hawk war is of unusual historical interest in that one of the western volunteers was Abraham Lincoln, afterwards President of the United States. He was elected a captain and served with Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, after-

166. Presidential Campaign of 1840.—In many of its aspects, the Presidential election of 1840 was not unlike that of 1828 when Jackson was first elected. The Democrats nominated Van Buren and R. M. Johnson of Kentucky. The Whigs put up as their candidates General William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. As in the case of Andrew Jackson there was an appeal made to the people on the basis of the simplicity, or plainness, of General Harrison in contrast with the alleged aristocratic attitude of his opponent. During the campaign, a Democratic newspaper referred to Harrison as a man content to live in a log cabin with a small pension and a barrel of hard cider. The Whigs took up the challenge, and "the log cabin, cider barrel, and reform" became the battle-cry of that party. Van Buren carried Illinois and five southern States. Harrison secured the electoral vote of all the rest, or 234, to 40 for Van Buren and Johnson.⁷

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Is there any lesson that we might learn from the various panics and periods of business depression such as the one briefly described in Sec. 162? Is there any similarity between this panic and those of 1792 and 1819?

2. The reference on page 228 to the beginning of American railroads is necessarily brief. Rails prepared for horses preceded those for locomotives. The subject should prove an interesting one for special investigation.

3. In connection with the subject of slavery and emancipation discussed in Sec. 164, it is worth while to reproduce portions of a letter from a freed slave, who, prior to emancipation, belonged to a family of Virginia:

"MONROVIA, LIBERIA *Dec. 29th, 1847*

. . . "By these few lines you may know that I am well and the Family and I do hope that these few lines may find you and the Family the same.

wards President of the Southern Confederacy. Another future President of the United States, Zachary Taylor, served as a colonel in the regular army. Albert Sidney Johnston, afterwards distinguished in the Mexican war and in the Confederate army; and Robert Anderson, who commanded at Fort Sumter in 1861, also served in this war.

⁷ "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was a favorite and effective cry of the Whigs during the campaign. "Tippecanoe" referred to General Harrison's notable victory over the Indians at Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811.

You wrote in the last that when we write we must write a full account of the Colony and of us in particular.—as to the Regards of this Colony, any man can live heare that will Work and if a man is got money he can Live. All the Fault I find in this Place the things is so deare that I has to Work to get something for me and my children to Eat and as fast as I can get a little money I have to take it all to Buy some Clothes for my Children to ware. . . . Please Miss Sally send money or buy some goods for me for I am in want of them to get me a house built in the place of the thatch hut I am now living in, also the following articles: Tobacco, Cloth & Flour & Meat, Powder & guns and nails.

“Your obdt servant,

PEGGIE POTTER.”

Appended to this letter was a postscript from Peggie’s son, Daniel, part of which is as follows:

“I beg you if you please madam to send me some books

Smiths Geography

“ Arithmetic

“ Grammar

and some Slate Pencils and a Slate and some Pens and paper and ink. Please to send me some books of all kinds. I beg of you please to send me a set of shoemakers tools. . . . Give my respects to all White and Black.”

Thousands of slaves were voluntarily freed by their owners at great sacrifice and expense and sent to Africa under the auspices of the Colonization Society.

CHAPTER XXIII

ADMINISTRATIONS OF HARRISON AND TYLER, 1841-1845: CON- FLICT BETWEEN TYLER AND CONGRESS; TEXAS APPLIES FOR ADMISSION INTO THE UNION

167. Beginnings of a Whig Administration.—Following the precedent set by Jackson, President Harrison and the Whigs made wholesale removals from public office to give places to their own partisans and followers. Harrison, however, issued a proclamation, the intent of which was to restrain, on pain of dismissal, the overzealousness of office-holders in partisan politics. The President placed the public duties of their positions above their obligations to the party to which they owed their preferment.

Together with this first warning to political appointees, the President issued a call for a special session of Congress to consider the Whig policies; but a few days after he had written the proclamation he became ill, and died on the fourth of April. Thus, for the first time in the half century of the history of the United States, a Vice-President was called upon to take up the duties of the chief magistrate.

168. Conflict between Tyler and the Whig Leaders.—By the death of Harrison, the Whigs felt that they had lost the fruit of their victory in the preceding elections; for Tyler, although nominated on the Whig ticket, was really in accord with Democratic policies. The change in administration, therefore, caused immediate friction between the Whig majority in Congress and the President. Two bills brought forward by Clay and the Whigs to re-establish the United States Bank were vetoed by Tyler. Thereupon all the members of the Harrison Whig cabinet resigned except Webster, who remained to complete negotiations then in progress with Great Britain. When these negotia-

Death of
President
Harrison

The United
States Bank

tions were closed by an agreement known as the Ashburton treaty Webster also resigned.¹

Another matter on which President Tyler and the leading Whigs differed was the proposed annexation of Texas, which was then an independent country. President Tyler ardently desired annexation of this great region, although such distinguished statesmen as Webster, Clay, Benton, and Van Buren heartily opposed it. In view of the importance of the



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Born Charles City Co., Va., Feb. 9, 1773. First public service on western frontier under commission from George Washington; aide-de-camp to Wayne in campaign against Indians, 1793-1794; settled in north-west territory and took leading part in its development, securing from Congress division of public land into smaller tracts more easily secured by the poorer settlers; appointed first governor of the "Indiana territory;" reappointed by Jefferson and Madison; won battles of Tippecanoe in 1811 and of the Thames, Canada, 1813; Congressman and United States Senator from Ohio; defeated by Van Buren, 1836; elected President, 1840. Died 1841.

subject, it is necessary to review at this point the circumstances leading up to the establishment of Texas as an independent republic and the arguments brought forward for union with the United States.

169. Review of Events Leading to the Independence of Texas, 1820-1836.—As early as 1820, Moses Austin of Connecticut had secured from the Spanish government a grant of land in Texas, where he and his son, Stephen F. Austin, colonized a number of emigrants from the United States. Texas was then a part of Mexico, and when that country established its independence of Spain in 1821, Stephen F. Austin secured from the Mexican government a renewal of the Spanish grants. Other grants were made to emigrants from the States until their numbers had so increased that the Mexican government grew jealous of their strength. Mexico then forbade further immigration and in many ways so harassed the settlers that in 1833 they rose in revolt. In 1835 the Anglo-American settlers defeated the Mexicans in the battles of Gonzales and

Goliad. In the following year, however, Santa Anna, President of Mexico, with an army of 4000 men, laid siege to the Alamo,

¹ This treaty fixed the northeastern boundary of Maine.

an old Spanish mission used as a fort, and every one of the Texan garrison, including the famous pioneer, David Crockett, died fighting to the last. Shortly afterward, 300 Texans, who had surrendered to Santa Anna, were cruelly massacred by the Mexicans. "Remember the Alamo!" "Remember Goliad!" became the cries of the Texans, and in the following year, under General Samuel Houston, they decisively defeated the Mexican army at San Jacinto and drove all the Mexican forces beyond the Rio Grande. They even captured Santa Anna and held him prisoner. By this victory Texas practically established her independence, which was shortly afterwards recognized by the United States and by other powers.

In 1837, proposals from Texas for annexation to the United States met with no encouragement from President Van Buren, but later, during Tyler's term of office, the question again came up with greater insistence. Webster, as Secretary of State, prevented action, but when that statesman retired from the cabinet, Tyler was free to select first A. P. Upshur, and then Calhoun, to carry out a treaty of annexation with Texas. Clay, Benton, Webster, and others succeeded, however, in bringing about the defeat of the treaty in the Senate by a vote of 35 to 16.

170. Presidential Elections of 1844.—The question of annexation was put directly before the people in the presidential elections of 1844. Henry Clay was nominated by the Whigs soon after he had declared strongly against annexation. James K. Polk of Tennessee and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania were nominated by the Democrats on a platform of expansion in the southwest (Texas) and in the northwest (Oregon).



JOHN TYLER

Born Charles City Co., Va., Mar. 29, 1790. Served in legislature of Virginia and as governor of the State; United States senator 1827-1836, where he became noted as a strong supporter of State rights; elected Vice-President with Harrison in 1840, becoming President (1841) on death of latter; strongly advocated annexation of Texas; presided over peace convention called to settle difficulties between North and South in 1861; elected to Confederate Congress, 1861. Died 1862.

The campaign resulted in the election of Polk and Dallas, thus preparing the way for annexation.²

171. Political Revolutions in Rhode Island and New York.—

During the administration of President Tyler, political and social disturbances occurred in the States of Rhode Island and New York. In the former the difficulty was of so serious a nature that it became known as Dorr's Rebellion. In accordance with the old royal charter which the State continued to maintain, a large proportion of the citizens of Rhode Island were excluded from a share in the government. With a few exceptions, only property owners and their eldest sons were allowed to vote. The disfranchised and the discontented determined to get by force the suffrage so long withheld from them. They framed a constitution, elected

Dorr's rebellion in Rhode Island

a legislature, and chose Thomas W. Dorr for governor.

Dorr's government degenerated into a disorganized insurrection, which, after some show of fighting, was put down by United States troops. But reform followed the "rebellion," and Rhode Island extended the franchise to include a larger proportion of her population.

In New York there were similar troubles, owing to popular agitation against the holding of great manorial estates, maintained somewhat in accordance with the original aristocratic plan of the Dutch patroonships. Sometimes the titles to the manorial estates were disputed, and combinations were formed among the renters to resist the annual payments prescribed by the old system. Finally, the owners of the estates made concessions which enabled renters to buy land. These reformers secured a greater measure of popular government both in Rhode Island and New York.

² In an effort to secure southern support, Clay wrote letters during the campaign that showed a wavering from his original expressions of opposition to annexation. This wavering cost him the support of the extreme abolitionists, who cast many of their votes for James G. Birney of the Liberty party. This party, representing the political wing of these abolitionists, was formed in 1840. This was Birney's second nomination for the presidency.

172. The First Use of the Electric Telegraph, 1844.—The last year of Tyler's administration saw the practical application of S. F. B. Morse's electric telegraph. A line was constructed between Baltimore and Washington, and a few days later the news of the Democratic convention that nominated Polk and Dallas was flashed over the wires to the Federal capital.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. The day before Polk was inaugurated as President, Congress passed a bill admitting Florida to the Union. Iowa also was knocking at the door, but a boundary dispute delayed her admission until the following year.

2. Look up Morse and the electric telegraph in some more extended account?

3. Why should there have been opposition to the admission of Texas?

4. To David Crockett, one of the heroes of the Alamo, is ascribed the saying, "Be sure you are right, then go ahead." His autobiography is interesting reading. It may be added that the older histories give neither a fair conception of the struggle of the Texans nor of the causes of the War with Mexico that followed annexation. Later investigators are correcting these impressions.

CHAPTER XXIV

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK, 1845-1849: ANNEXATION OF TEXAS AND WAR WITH MEXICO

173. Annexation of Texas, 1845.—The triumph of Polk and Dallas in the elections of 1844 was taken by the Democrats to indicate the wish of the majority of the people for the annexation of Texas. In the following year, during Tyler's term of office, Congress passed the necessary measures to effect the desired end. Consequently, in December, 1845, the independent Republic of Texas became a State in the Federal Union.

Although, subsequent to Santa Anna's disastrous defeat in 1836, Mexico had not seriously attempted to regain control of Texas, she had never formally yielded her claims to that region. She therefore regarded annexation as an unfriendly act by the United States government. Diplomatic intercourse between the United States and Mexico was cut short by the act of Mexico, and preparations were made for a possible armed conflict, which, however, might have been averted had not Texas, basing her demands on the agreement made by Santa Anna, declared that her boundaries extended beyond the Nueces River to the Rio Grande.

174. War against Mexico Declared, 1846.—To uphold the Texan claims, General Zachary Taylor, in command of United States troops, was ordered to occupy the territory lying between the two rivers. Several months passed without armed conflict, but on April 25, 1846, Mexican troops ambushed and attacked a scouting party of Americans on the Texas side of the Rio Grande. The latter were killed or captured, and Congress declared that war had been begun by the act of Mexico.

175. Taylor's Campaign in Northern Mexico, 1846-1847.—General Taylor acted with vigor and dispatch. Although greatly outnumbered by the Mexicans, he repelled an attack at Palo Alto on May 8, and on the following day badly

Boundary disputes with Mexico
First blood-shed Apr. 25, 1846
Advance into Mexico

defeated the Mexicans at Resaca de la Palma, driving them in rout beyond the Rio Grande. Taylor then crossed the Rio Grande, and upon receiving reinforcements at Matamoras, advanced into Mexico. In September he overthrew the Mexicans at Monterey after three days of fierce fighting.

At this point the American general-in-chief, Winfield Scott, ordered a part of Taylor's force to coöperate with him in an endeavor to reach and capture the capital of Mexico by another route. This depletion of his command rendered Gen-
 eral Taylor not only powerless for further invasion, but
 endangered the safety of his remaining force; for Santa Anna, again the Mexican President and Commander-in-chief, now moved against Taylor with the expectation of crushing him. The latter, however, successfully withstood the Mexican attack in a two-day engagement at Buena Vista (February 22 and 23, 1847), and finally compelled Santa Anna to beat a retreat. Taylor had about 5000 men while the Mexican general commanded a force estimated at 20,000. General Taylor at once became the hero of the war, although his campaign ended at this point in order to make way for that of General Scott.



JAMES K. POLK

Born Mecklenburg Co., N. C., Nov. 2, 1795. Studied law in Tennessee; entered Legislature of that State in 1823; elected to Congress for seven terms, 1825-1839, part of the time being chosen Speaker of the House; elected governor of Tennessee, 1839; strongly advocated annexation of Texas, and was elected President over Clay in 1844, serving one term. Died 1849.

176. Kearny and Frémont in California.—

In the meantime, General Stephen W. Kearny, after a march of nearly 1000 miles from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, had captured Santa Fé in New Mexico in August, 1846. Kearny then joined an American force under John C. Frémont, who, with the naval forces under Commodores Sloat and Stockton, had taken possession of California.

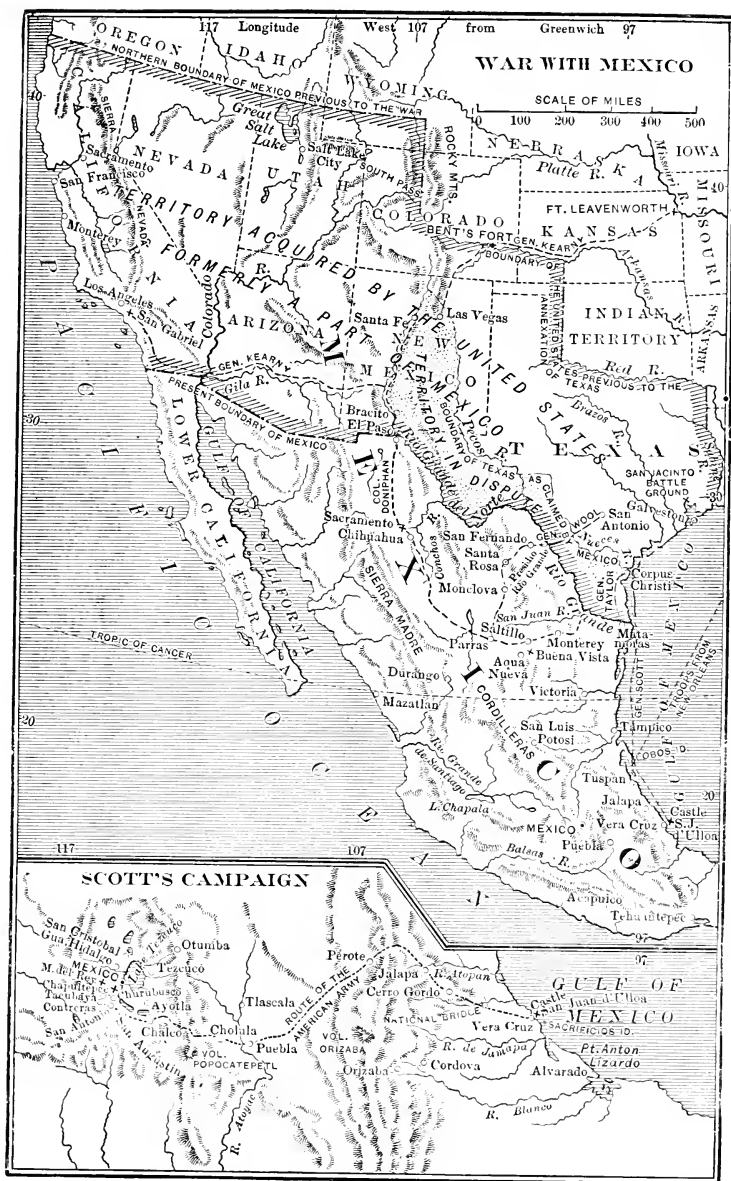
177. Scott's Campaign in Central Mexico, 1847.—In March, 1847, General Scott, with an army of 12,000 men, appeared before the strongly fortified seaport of Vera Cruz, which was
 captured in the same month after bombardment by the Americans. Cerro Gordo

The mountain pass of Cerro Gordo was next attacked. Here Santa Anna lay in a position practically unassailable from his front, while he declared that even a mountain goat could not approach his rear. After several days of delay, a possible path was discovered by a young artillery captain of the United States army, Robert E. Lee. In three days the Americans had cut their way through almost insuperable natural difficulties to the rear of the Mexicans, whom they promptly attacked. Thirteen thousand Mexicans were put to flight, and a fourth of their army was killed or captured.

After a delay of some weeks to await the arrival of reinforcements, Scott's army took up in August their 260-mile march to Mexico city. Then followed the severest fighting of the war, and, although one American success followed another, the Mexicans fought stubbornly, inflicting severe losses on the invaders. Again and again it seemed that the American army was about to be defeated and swallowed up in the midst of outnumbering foes, to be as often saved by the single daring act of some brave officer or by the alertness and brilliant strategy of another. Successively the Americans carried the intrenched position at Contreras, captured the almost impregnable fortress of Cherubusco, and finally stormed Mexico City. The Mexican capital surrendered on the 14th of September, 1847, thus practically bringing the war to a close.

178. Treaty of Peace Signed, 1848.—Early in the following year a treaty of peace was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which Mexico formally relinquished her claims to all her former territory north of the Rio Grande. To the United States she also ceded New Mexico and Upper California, territory that then embraced all the present States of California, Nevada, and Utah, together with parts of Arizona, Colorado, and Wyoming. In return for this cession the United States agreed to pay Mexico \$15,000,000, and to settle claims of Americans against Mexico amounting to \$3,250,000.¹

¹ Five years later, an additional territory, now included in the southern portions of the present States of Arizona and New Mexico, was bought for \$10,000,000. This is known as the Gadsden purchase, and was named after James Gadsden, then minister to Mexico.



The war with Mexico had not been popular in the northeastern States, and the accession of Texas was not regarded with favor in that section. The extreme type of abolitionists did not favor this acquisition of territory because it seemed likely to offer opportunity for the extension of African slavery. Political leaders in the same section opposed it largely on the ground that Josiah Quincy had taken in opposing the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory under Jefferson—that it would increase the power of a rival section.²

Opposition
in the North



BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA

This battle all but proved a great disaster when a regiment of volunteers fled before the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. General Taylor was forced to ride to the front to rally his men; and the army was saved by the determined courage of George H. Thomas, afterwards to be known as the "Rock of Chickamauga," and the dashing attack of Mississippi riflemen under Jefferson Davis, later President of the Southern Confederacy.

Agitation was begun in the north to have Congress prohibit slavery in all the territory acquired from Mexico. A bill to that effect was introduced in Congress during the war with Mexico by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, and was called therefrom the "Wilmot Proviso." The southern political leaders, however, objected to it, not only on account of slaveholding interests, but because such a provision would naturally

Anti-slavery
agitation
involves
sectional
controversy

² Such a thought would not occur north, south, east, or west to-day; but it was a real issue from the foundation of the Union until such sectional issues were practically obliterated some time after the War of Secession. Cf. Secs. 143, 144, 145.

ally the whole of that section with the economic and political policies of the North; moreover, if the territory excluded the negro slave, it would exclude the slaveholder.

The Wilmot proviso failed, but a great deal of ill feeling was aroused during the debates on the proposed measure. Politicians played upon this sentiment and greatly magnified it; the people took it up and several of the churches split into northern and southern divisions. Distinguished preachers declared that slavery in itself was the vilest of crimes. The inference followed that the



STORMING OF THE FORTRESS OF CHAPULTEPEC (September 12-13, 1847)

The last serious obstacle to Scott's march upon the City of Mexico. This engagement put to a severe test over a score of young officers who subsequently became renowned commanders in the sectional struggle of 1861-1865. Among others, George B. McClellan and U. S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, and T. J. Jackson entered the capital of Mexico together.

southern slaveholder was the worst of criminals, in spite of the fact that in character and ability the slaveholder represented a high type of Anglo-Saxon citizenship. On the other hand, the southern slaveholders learned to hate all abolitionists, could see no good in them, and denounced them in extravagant terms.³

³ In 1846 a dangerous dispute with Great Britain, in regard to the north-western boundary line, was settled by compromise. Great Britain and the United States had each laid claims to what had become known as the Oregon country. It was widely asserted that the claim of the United States extended far into what is now British Columbia. The demand for the territory became

179. Presidential Elections of 1848.—In the presidential campaign of 1848, the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan and William O. Butler of Kentucky. The Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore, of New York. A third or "Free Soil Party" nominated former president Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams. Taylor and Fillmore were elected, and for a third time in twenty years a popular war hero attained to the highest office in the gift of the people.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. The war with Mexico reflected the highest credit on the United States army and volunteers. A very large number of the commanders who achieved distinction on either side during the War of Secession gained valuable military experience in the Mexican campaigns. Among them may be mentioned U. S. Grant, George H. Thomas, R. E. Lee, and Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson.

2. Look up a more extended account of some one of the battles that occurred during the campaigns of General Scott or of General Taylor.

3. In 1851 Congress greatly reduced the rates of postage. The charge for "single sheet" letters had originally been as high as 8 cents for short distances to 25 cents for the longer. The new rules permitted an increase in the size of the letter and reduced the postage to five and ten cents, according to distance east of the Rocky Mountains. To the Pacific territories the smallest postage by way of the Isthmus of Panama was 40 cents. Imagine how people in the early days economized space on letter paper!

4. In 1846 and 1848 Iowa and Wisconsin were admitted into the Union, politically offsetting Florida and Texas.

insistent and was voiced in the cry, "Fifty-four forty or fight," referring to that parallel of latitude as the proposed dividing line. After a great deal of discussion based on this extreme claim and the alleged concessions under previous administrations, President Polk and Congress agreed to accept the forty-ninth parallel as the continuous northern boundary of the United States from the Rocky Mountains to the middle of the channel which separates the island of Vancouver from the continent. From thence the line was deflected to include the whole of Vancouver in the British possessions.

CHAPTER XXV

ADMINISTRATIONS OF ZACHARY TAYLOR AND MILLARD FILLMORE, 1849-1853: GOLD FOUND IN CALIFORNIA

180. The California Gold Rush, 1849.—Before the election of Taylor, and a few days before the signing of the treaty with Mexico, gold had been discovered in California. As soon as this became known in the east, a great rush set in for the Pacific coast. Throughout 1849 a constant stream of emigrants covered all available routes to the west. These pioneers endured incredible hardships on the way, many of them perished, but thousands pressed on to final success. Before the end of the year, small settlements like Sacramento and San Francisco grew into cities of from ten to twenty thousand inhabitants. The pioneer life was rough at best, and the prospect of sudden riches had attracted a lawless element which at first terrorized the new community; but it was not long before the better citizens gained control and began the preparation of a constitution. When this constitution had been drawn up the territory applied for admission to the Union as a State.



ZACHARY TAYLOR

Born Orange Co., Va., Sept. 24, 1784. Raised and educated in Kentucky; served in northwest during War of 1812; fought in Black Hawk War in northwest, and in Seminole War in Florida; led invading force into Mexico from northern border, winning notable victories at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, and Buena Vista; nicknamed by his soldiers "Old Rough and Ready;" was elected President over Cass, 1848. Died while President, July 9, 1850.

181. California Seeks Admission to the Union.—The admission of California became at once an issue of unusual political importance. The North desired her immediate admission, together with a provision to exclude slavery from all the territories, and to abolish it in the District of Columbia. The South opposed these demands, including the immediate admission of California, on the ground that California should first be regularly organized under a territorial form of government, and admitted only after that had been done. The

Sectional
and political
struggle for
California

struggle for political control of California and the remainder of the former Mexican territory grew so bitter that it threatened the dissolution of the Union. Secession sentiment began to grow in both sections. Many southerners felt that the admission of California as a free State would destroy the balance of power hitherto maintained, and that the interests of their section could no longer be safeguarded. In the North some of the extreme abolitionists declared openly that they favored a dissolution of the Union.¹

Finally, sufficient votes in Congress were mustered to support a "compromise measure" brought forward by Henry Clay, the provisions of which were: (1) that California was to be admitted without slavery; (2) that the remainder of the land acquired from Mexico was to be organized into territories without reference to slavery; (3) that while slavery was to continue in the District of Columbia, slave trading there was to be forbidden; (4) that a new and more stringent fugitive slave law should be enacted; (5) that a payment of \$10,000,000 should be made to Texas in consideration of the giving up by that State of territory claimed both by Texas and the Federal government.

The compromise ended the debate in Congress, but it was opposed by Calhoun, on the ground that most of its provisions were to the advantage of the North; that the North, in control of both houses of Congress, could pass oppressive tariff and other legislation hostile to southern interests, without any hope on the part of the South of successful opposition; and the South would be forced either to submit to the almost unrestricted will of a hostile majority or to withdraw from the Union. On the other hand, Senator William H. Seward, of New York, declared that the North had yielded too much to the institution of slavery, and that there was a "higher law" than either the Constitution or Congressional enactments—the moral obligation to protect human rights.

¹ It should be noted that the admission of California either as a slave or as a free State would violate the spirit of the Missouri Compromise, since part of the State was above and part below the parallel 36° 30'.

*Southern
view of com-
promise*

*Northern
view*

The fugitive slave law was, in effect, a dead letter from the date of its passage. On the one hand, it was peculiarly harsh in that it denied the right of the negro to be heard in his own behalf. On the other hand, it aroused among the people of the North such resentment against the slaveholder, coupled with sentiment on behalf of the negro, that anything any negro chose to tell of his former bondage was implicitly believed by thousands of people who knew little or nothing of the true conditions in the southern States. Passions were further inflamed by the appearance in 1852 of a novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe, entitled "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It was intended to present a story of slave life in the South largely founded on actual instances of hardship and cruelty. Such hardship and cruelty were possible under the southern system, and there would have been no harm done in representing them; but in those days of general ignorance of one section concerning another, the story was widely accepted as a picture of average conditions. In the North the book provoked a great storm of honest but ignorant denunciation and even detestation of a differentiated but equally high-toned and moral people. The voice of sympathy and coöperation with the South in solving its problems was lost in a tempest of passion; expressions of good will for the southern people were misinterpreted and cried down as a defense of slavery. In the South the emancipationist was confounded with the extreme abolitionist, so that public discussions of the ills or evils of slavery became increasingly difficult.

182. Death of President Taylor, 1850.—President Taylor died July 9, 1850, before the completion of his term, and Vice-President Fillmore succeeded him. In the same year a treaty was made with Great Britain for the purpose of guaranteeing the neutrality of any ship canal that might be cut through Central



MILLARD FILLMORE

Born Cayuga Co., N. Y., Feb. 7, 1800. Began public career in Erie county; elected to State legislature 1829; Representative in Congress, 1833; elected comptroller State of New York, 1847; elected Vice-President on ticket with Zachary Taylor, 1848; became President, 1850, on death of Taylor; candidate for President of American party in 1856. Died 1874.

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

America or the Isthmus. The agreement became known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, from the names of the American Secretary of State and the British minister, the agents of negotiation.²

183. Visit of Kossuth; the Martin Koszta Affair.—In 1851 the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, visited the United States and created in this country a great deal of sympathy for his fellow revolutionists, who had risen in revolt against Austrian misrule. The United States government, however, refused to allow sentimental considerations to involve this country in a European war. In this course those in authority pointed to the precedent set by Washington in the Genet episode. These troubles in Austria led to a complication of international importance which might have resulted in a war between that country and the United States. An aide-de-camp of Kossuth, Martin Koszta, escaped to America and took out preliminary naturalization papers, declaring his intention to become a citizen of the United States. Afterwards, in June, 1853, by Austrian authority, he was arrested in Smyrna, Asia. Immediately subsequent to his arrest, Captain N. D. Ingraham, in command of the United States sloop of war *St. Louis*, arrived at Smyrna. On July 2, although greatly outnumbered by the Austrian vessels and armament in Smyrna, Ingraham, at the point of opening fire upon the Austrians, demanded and secured the release of the prisoner, who was finally returned to the United States.³

184. Treaty with Japan.—In 1853 Commodore M. C. Perry visited Japan and was successful in bringing about, in 1854, a

² John M. Clayton of Delaware and Sir Henry Bulwer.

³ This event was hailed with acclaim in several nations. Koszta was not a citizen of the United States, but he had announced his intention of becoming one. The United States consul at Smyrna had given him a letter of safe conduct and had extended to him thereby the protection of the United States; Captain Ingraham was further justified in giving consideration to Koszta's case, as the latter was illegally arrested in a neutral port. Congress approved Ingraham's courageous stand and awarded him a medal. The working men of Great Britain, subscribing one cent each, gave the American commander a silver chronometer, while the German-American citizens of Chicago and other bodies presented him with special testimonials of esteem.

treaty with that hitherto unapproachable country. This treaty ultimately led to the introduction of western ideas and civilization into the island empire of the east, and its results were destined to startle the world before the close of the nineteenth century.

185. Death of Calhoun, Clay, and Webster.—By the close of the year 1852, a great trio of American statesmen had passed away to give place to younger men. Calhoun of the lower south had died early in 1850; Clay of the upper south and west died in June, 1852; and Webster, of the New England States, died in October of the same year. Each had aspired to the Presidency, but all had failed to reach that goal.⁴

186. Presidential Elections of 1852.—In 1852 the Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire and William R. King of Alabama. The Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott, of Virginia, the fourth military hero put in nomination for the Presidency since 1828. By a large majority the election resulted in favor of the Democratic candidates.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. When the rush for California began in 1849, there were three available routes to the "land of promise." One was overland by wagon trains and ox-carts, through "bad lands" and subject all the while to the attacks of hostile Indians. Another route was by sea to Panama, across the Isthmus and up the western coast. The third and longest was by sea around Cape Horn.

2. As a schoolboy, the writer of this book greatly enjoyed an historical novel called, "The Boy Emigrants." This novel or any interesting books describing frontier life might be suggested at this point.

3. People living in the east frequently have little conception of the vastness of the various western acquisitions, or of the size of the western States. The map should always be consulted when these acquisitions are under discussion. In fact, throughout the course maps should be frequently in evidence. In the class room the author would, for brevity and emphasis, frequently refer to a trio of adverbs of similar sound and sense: *Who*, *When*, and *Where*; and sometimes also *Why*.

⁴ Webster died under a cloud of disfavor in his own section, on account of his later expressions on sectional issues. He was accused of playing for political support (see Whittier's poem "Ichabod"), but the charge is unjust.

CHAPTER XXVI

ADMINISTRATION OF FRANKLIN PIERCE, 1853-1857: THE KNOW-NOTHING OR AMERICAN PARTY; RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

187. The Sectional and Political Struggle for Kansas and the West.—The compromise of 1850 did not end the struggle between the North and the South for the control of territory yet to be formed into States. In 1854 Congress passed an act for organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, both of which were north of the line of the Missouri compromise, where slavery had been prohibited. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, as it was called, provided that the decision as to free or slave labor should be left to the people of the territories.¹

At once it was seen that there must follow a struggle for the control of the new country. No effort was made by the South to secure Nebraska; but Kansas was immediately adjacent to Missouri, and slaveholders from that State began to take possession. Many of these were *bona fide* settlers; others came in armed bands and committed many outrages. These were called "border ruffians" by both honest "free State" men and by those equally lawless in opposition to them.

¹ It was claimed that this line had already been disregarded or done away with by reason of the admission of the whole of California as "free soil" in 1850; although the parallel of 36° 30' had originally applied only to the Louisiana purchase. The whole of Kansas, the Dakotas, together with such portions of Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado as lay east of the Rocky Mountains, were at first included in the territory of Nebraska. The doctrine of "popular sovereignty" (frequently called "squatter" sovereignty), supported chiefly by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, split the Democratic party, one division maintaining that the decision as to slave or free labor should be made only after the territory had framed a constitution.

The proximity of Missouri to the Kansas border was, however, offset by the energy of the abolition societies in the North, which equipped emigrants with money, supplies, and munitions of war.² Settlers from either section went prepared for partisan warfare. The factions settled in different parts of the territory and organized rival governments. Conflict and bloodshed followed. One territorial governor after another

Settlers and
emigrants
from the
North

resigned or was forced from office by the Bloodshed terrorism and outlawry in which both sides participated in about equal measure, although the cold-blooded massacre of five settlers at Pottawottomie Creek by a band of "free State" men under the leadership of John Brown and his sons, was the most notorious crime of the struggle.³



FRANKLIN PIERCE

Born Hillsboro, N. H., Nov. 23, 1804. Entered into campaign in support of Andrew Jackson, 1828; member of N. H. legislature, 1829; elected to Congress in 1832 and in 1834; elected to U. S. senate in 1836, resigning 1842; served with distinction under Scott in war with Mexico; elected President 1852, serving one term; as President gave support to southern contentions in political struggle of that time; declared for the Union and the support of Lincoln's administration in 1861. Died 1869.

188. The Sumner-Brooks Affair in the United States Senate.—The Kansas troubles were echoed in an unhappy fashion in the United States Senate in May, 1856. Senator Sumner of Massachusetts, in the course of a violent speech on "The Crime against Kansas," made abusive remarks about Senator Butler, then critically ill at his home in South Carolina. Senator Butler's nephew, Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, sought Senator Sumner in vain for apology or retraction. Finally, he waited for him in the Senate chamber. After a verbal warning, Brooks struck Sumner over the head with an ordinary

² The latter included quantities of Springfield rifles, known as "Beecher's Bibles," from the name of the popular orator-preacher and abolitionist, Henry Ward Beecher, a brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

³ The bodies of the murdered men were mutilated even after death. John Brown was no more a *bona fide* settler than were the border ruffians of Missouri. Both had come temporarily into the territory to control the form of its proposed constitution. Kansas finally entered the Union as a free State in 1861.

gutta-percha walking cane. Sumner was a very large man, and as he attempted to shield himself from Brooks's blows, he wrenched his desk loose and fell to the floor dazed and bleeding. The incident, magnified and misrepresented in both sections, created additional irritation between North and South, and contributed its share to promote the irrepressible conflict that was now hastening to open rupture.⁴

189. Formation of Political Parties along New Lines.—The single term of President Pierce saw the rise of two political parties, one of which had a short-lived existence, while the other grew rapidly to great influence and power.

The former was the "Know-nothing" or American party, which originated in objections to the easy naturalization of foreigners and their increasing power in politics. The principal rallying cry of this party was, "Put none but Americans on guard"; nevertheless, when its adherents were questioned about its policies, their reply was, "I know nothing," whence the party derived its unusual name. The party first attracted attention in the eastern cities and was successful in carrying several States. It then dropped some of its peculiar secrecy of character and called itself the "American" party. Its

The "Know-nothing" or American party

⁴ Sumner's physician reported that the Senator was physically not incapacitated for attendance at the Senate the next day; but he seems to have suffered severely from the effects of the assault. Except for a few days in December, 1857, after his re-election, he did not again attend the sessions of the Senate until the autumn of 1859. In spite of the fact that Boston and Washington newspapers published good contemporaneous accounts of the affair, in the discussion of the incident all temperance was cast aside. The speech of Senator Sumner contained many indecencies of expression; but Brooks's conduct in the United States Senate is not defensible even on the basis of the old-fashioned "code of honor," under which a man who does not reply to a personal challenge must be whipped in the presence of those who heard the insulting remarks. Cass of Michigan and other Senators strongly rebuked Sumner for his "un-American and unpatriotic speech." Brooks was censured by the majority of members of the House. He resigned from Congress, but was re-elected. Unhappily, both men at once became objects of unqualified eulogy in their respective States, whereas it now seems clear that both the language of the one and the conduct of the other were equally reprehensible.

membership was drawn largely from the Whigs, the latter being finally absorbed in it and in the Republican party, which was formed at about the same time; although many of the Whigs, especially in the south, united with the Democrats.

The Republican party owed its origin to a determination on the part of the opponents of slavery in the north that no more slave States should be admitted to the Union, and that slavery should be treated by the Federal government as a local institution having no legal status outside the boundaries of the States in which it was established. This issue became well defined after the struggle over the Kansas-Nebraska bill. On that account its adherents were called "Anti-Nebraska men," and they succeeded in electing a number of representatives in Congress in the elections of 1854. These representatives were elected chiefly from the northwestern States, where this political movement saw rapid growth and where its adherents began to be called Republicans.

The Republican party



WASHINGTON IRVING

Born New York, April 3, 1783. Traveled extensively abroad; noted especially as the author of the "Sketch Book," "Tales of a Traveller," and historical works on Spain and biography of Washington. Died Tarrytown, N. Y., 1859.

190. Presidential Elections of 1856.—In the presidential elections of 1856, three parties were in the field: Democratic, Republican, and American or Know-nothing. Their candidates were, in the order given above: James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky; John C. Frémont of California and William L. Dayton of New Jersey; ex-President Millard Fillmore of New York and Andrew H. Donelson of Tennessee.⁵ The American party made a weak showing in this election and shortly thereafter vanished from view. The young Republican party made

⁵ A portion of the American party nominated Commodore Stockton for President, while those abolitionists who believed in political activity nominated Gerrit Smith of New York and Frederick Douglass, formerly a negro slave, born in Maryland. These candidates, however, received no electoral votes.

the exclusion of slavery from the territories its principal issue. The candidates of the Republican party were from the North, and the membership of that party was confined almost wholly to the northern States. Southern leaders threatened secession, should such a party succeed in carrying the elections, and the fear of disunion doubtless influenced many northern voters to cast their ballots for the Democratic candidates. Fillmore carried one State, Maryland; the Republicans carried eleven States, all in the North; Buchanan carried the remainder and was elected, together with a Democratic majority in Congress.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Some months before Sumner's speech on Kansas, Garrison had publicly burned a copy of the Constitution in an open-air celebration of abolitionists at Framingham, Mass. Some of the spectators hissed the act, while his followers applauded it; but the majority of the people of Massachusetts either disapproved of Garrison's attitude or openly denounced the extreme abolitionist doctrines. Nevertheless, public sentiment grew in favor of the efforts to prevent the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law; and United States marshals, sworn to execute Federal enactments, informed the abolitionists of the arrival of runaway slaves, so that the latter might not be apprehended.

2. From the southern side, the political aspects of the case in reference to the extension of slavery were presented in the United States Senate by Jefferson Davis in 1858: "A man not knowing into what presence he was introduced, coming into this chamber, might, for a large part of this session, have supposed that here stood the representatives of belligerent States; and that instead of men assembled here to confer together for the common welfare, for the general good, he saw here ministers from States preparing to make war upon each other. . . . Sir, we are arraigned day after day as the aggressive power. What southern senator during this whole session has attacked any portion or any interest of the North? . . . Why should we care whether they [the slaves] go into other territories or not? Simply because of the war that is made against our institutions; simply because of the want of security which results from the action of our opponents in the northern States. . . . You have made it a political war. We are on the defensive. How far are you to push us?" *Cf. Sec. 193.*

3. It is not, perhaps, fair to the memory of Senator Sumner and Representative Brooks to give the impression that theirs was the only clash in the halls of Congress during these exciting times. There were many others, some of which led to the menacing display of firearms.

CHAPTER XXVII

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BUCHANAN, 1857-1861: THE DRED SCOTT DECISION; LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES; JOHN BROWN'S RAID

191. The Dred Scott Decision.—In 1857 a decision of the United States Supreme Court aroused much heated discussion. A negro slave, Dred Scott by name, sued for his freedom in the



JAMES BUCHANAN

Born Franklin County, Pa., April 23, 1791. A Federalist supporter of War of 1812; elected legislature of Pennsylvania, 1814; elected Congress, 1820; in diplomatic service under President Jackson; elected to U. S. Senate in 1833; Secretary of State under Polk; minister to Great Britain under Pierce; elected President, 1856, serving one term; denied the alleged right to secession and also that of compelling States to remain in the Union; ultimately supported Lincoln's administration. Died 1868.

Federal courts on the grounds that his master had carried him into the free State of Illinois, and also into territory (now Minnesota) where slavery was forbidden under the Missouri Compromise. Chief Justice Taney handed down the decision of the court to the effect that a negro slave was not legally a citizen of the United States, and could not, therefore, bring suit in the Federal courts. The court also declared that since the Constitution recognized and sanctioned slavery, Congress could not exclude slaves from any territory controlled by the United States. This decision virtually declared unconstitutional the principal plank in the platform of the Republican party, the leaders of which denounced the decision and declared that they would not abide by it.

192. The Atlantic Cable.—A severe disturbance or depression in business and financial circles in 1857 was followed in 1858 by a notable triumph of American inventive genius, in the laying of the first Atlantic cable from Newfoundland to Ireland. Matthew Fontaine Maury, superintendent of the Naval Observatory at

Washington, prepared the plan, and Cyrus W. Field, an energetic merchant of New York, pushed the work to completion.¹

193. The Lincoln=Douglas Debates.—Politically, the year 1858 was momentous in bringing to general notice a hitherto almost unknown western lawyer, Abraham Lincoln. He was brought forward by the Republicans of Illinois in contest with Stephen A. Douglas for the United States Senate. Joint debates were held by the two candidates in an extended campaign, which resulted in the election of Douglas. On the question of the extension of slavery, however, Lincoln forced his opponent to make certain admissions which ultimately alienated from Douglas many of his supporters, split the Democratic party, and, two years later, enabled Lincoln himself to attain the greater prize of the Presidency.



MATTHEW FONTAINE
MAURY

Born Spottsylvania County, Va., January 14, 1806. Entered U. S. navy, 1825; superintendent Naval Observatory, 1844-1861; discovered relations of trade winds and ocean currents and other important laws of nature; with Humboldt, considered the greatest scientist of his time; served under Southern Confederacy; after War of Secession, refused a palace offered by the Emperor of Russia and the Presidency of French Academy of Sciences; accepted position as instructor in a war-impoveryed military school in his native State. Died 1873.

Lincoln's position on the political and moral aspects of the slavery problem was at the same time both radical and conservative. He was opposed to slavery in any place or form; but he was equally opposed to violent interference with the institution where it was already in existence. Like Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, he was an emancipationist, but he likewise believed that the slaveholder had definite rights under the Constitution of the United States. On the other hand, he took a definite and determined stand against the alleged right of the slaveholder to extend the institution of slavery into territory yet to be created into new States. From such territory he maintained

¹ Although the cable, on account of some defects, was not immediately put into operation, entire success followed a few years later. "Maury furnished the brains, England gave the money, and I did the work," said Field after the completion of the cable.

that the slaveholder should be forever excluded. In his debates with Douglas, Lincoln declared that: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States."

Lincoln was born in the South and knew a great deal about conditions in that section. He held views on the subject of slavery and gradual emancipation that might have enabled him successfully to coöperate with the emancipationists of the South in the peaceful settlement of the problem that differentiated the sections and created so many conflicting interests.² Lincoln's grasp of conditions was national in that he understood the situation in which the South was placed by the violence of the extreme abolitionists in the North, and he openly disclaimed all association with their acts or their agitation.

194. John Brown's Attempt to Incite a Servile Insurrection, 1859.—This increasing agitation, however, led to a direct assault

² Although a series of protective tariffs had proved a burdensome and disproportionate tax upon the non-manufacturing southern States, the active issue forced upon them was the consideration of negro slavery. Since the supporters of legislation objectionable to the South were as a rule opposed to slavery, many of the southern leaders began to feel that the political future of their section depended upon the extension of that institution. A new slave State would favor low tariff or free trade, while a new free State would be likely to give additional power to the forces of high protection. The issue was very much like that presented in 1803 and 1845 when New England opposed territorial expansion in the southwest. The New England leaders, like the southerners in later times, feared loss of political power and legislation inimical to local interests.

The tariff was lowered in 1857, immediately after which there arose in northern manufacturing communities a strong demand for the former high duties. This demand found expression in fresh protective tariff legislation early in 1861.

upon the South, and a concerted effort by some of the abolitionists to organize a general insurrection among the slaves of the southern States. The active leader of this movement was John Brown, already notorious for deeds of violence in Kansas. He passed through western Maryland and selected Harper's Ferry in Virginia as his point of invasion. He brought arms of various kinds, including iron pikes, for the arming of a thousand or more slaves. After first killing a negro porter who refused to join them, Brown, with his sons and associates, on the night

United
States arse-
nal at Har-
per's Ferry
seized



BIRTHPLACE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, HARDIN COUNTY, KENTUCKY; NOW THE SITE OF A GREAT MEMORIAL BUILDING.

of October 16, 1859, seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and captured a number of citizens, whom he held as hostages.

Although the negroes of the neighborhood were acquainted with Brown's plans by means of emissaries who had secretly gone through the country, there was no disposition whatever on the part of the slaves to rise in insurrection, and the arsenal was soon surrounded by indignant citizens. The following day a detachment

Brown cap- of United States marines, under command of Colonel
tured and tured and
hanged Robert E. Lee, arrived on the scene. The old abo-
litionist defended his position with desperate courage, and only
after he had been wounded and several of his men had been shot

down, was he captured, together with six of his companions. In the course of the fighting a number of citizens were killed. Brown was tried in the Virginia courts and convicted of conspiracy, treason, and murder. He was hanged at Charles Town, Virginia (now West Virginia), December 2, 1859.³

195. Presidential Campaign and Election of 1860.—In May, 1860, the Republican convention met at Chicago, and, to the surprise of almost everyone, nominated Abraham Lincoln for President instead of William H. Seward of New York, who had been up to that time the most noted leader of the party. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was selected as the Republican candidate for Vice-President.

In April the Democratic convention had met at Charleston, S. C. Almost immediately division occurred, the majority of the delegates, especially those from the North, declaring for Douglas and the doctrine of popular sovereignty in respect to slavery in the territories; but most of the southern delegates insisted on the protection of slavery in the territories until they were ready to frame constitutions and declare themselves for slavery or for free soil. No selection



W. H. PRESCOTT

Born Salem, Mass., May 4, 1796. Educated at Harvard; noted for the charm and vivid portrayal of his historical work, such as his "Ferdinand and Isabella," "Conquest of Mexico," "Conquest of Peru," etc. Died 1859.

Division in Democratic party; one faction supports Douglas; the other Breckinridge

³ No one prominent in political life in the North seems to have been directly concerned with this proposed servile insurrection, but a number of well-known abolitionists contributed money or supplies. The most noted of these was Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a man afterwards distinguished for his public-spirited interest in many good enterprises. The majority of the northern people heartily disapproved of John Brown's course. Lincoln condemned it. Yet such was the almost incredible intensity of feeling in those times (based as it so largely was on misunderstanding and ignorance) that many preachers extolled Brown as a martyr. The distinguished philosopher and author, Ralph Waldo Emerson, declared: "The new saint will make the gallows glorious like the cross."

of candidates was made at Charleston, and the convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore in June. At Baltimore, the convention again divided and some of the delegates withdrew. Those that remained nominated Stephen A. Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia. Those who withdrew nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph H. Lane of Oregon.

In the meantime, a fourth nomination was made by the "Constitutional Union" party, which simply stated that it stood for "The Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." This party nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

The campaign that followed was warmly contested. The Lincoln and Hamlin Republican party alone presented a united front, and Lincoln and Hamlin received a majority of the electoral vote—180 against 72 for Breckinridge and Lane, 39 for Bell and Everett, and 12 for Douglas and Johnson.⁴

196. General Review of the Growth of the Country.—Before entering on the period of sectional war, it is important to get a general view of conditions at this time throughout the country. Since the beginning of the century great changes had been brought about through agencies already touched upon, such as canals, railroads, steamboats, and the telegraph. Immigration and manufactures in the north had greatly changed the life of the people there. In the south the changes had been less marked; with some exceptions, chiefly in the border States, the cities had not greatly increased in size and the people lived largely in the country. Manufacturing was almost unknown throughout the southern States.

Besides the great investigations and discoveries of Maury in the realm of geography American inventive genius was busily at

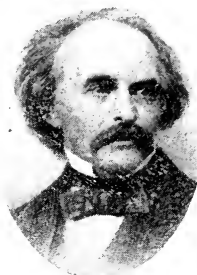
⁴ The popular vote, in round numbers, was: Lincoln, 1,800,000; Douglas, 1,300,000; Breckinridge, 800,000; Bell, 600,000.

work in other directions also. In 1831 Cyrus McCormick, a Virginia farmer, invented the reaper, which revolutionized the

methods of wheat harvesting and which, within a few years, made

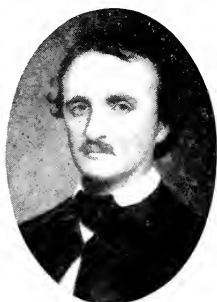
the middle west the granary of America. In 1842 Dr. Crawford W. Long, of Georgia, first successfully experimented with ether in surgical operations. In 1844 Charles Good-year, a native of Connecticut, secured an important patent on vulcanized rubber, although he had devised improvements in the manufacture of rubber as early as 1836. In 1846

Elias Howe, a mechanic of Massachusetts, patented the sewing machine. These inventions were but the forerunners of innumerable others which were soon to follow in an astonishing succession that has never been broken.



NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

Born Salem, Mass., July 4, 1804, of Puritan ancestry. Educated at Bowdoin College; excelled as a novelist; noted for exceptional powers of observation, careful analysis, and originality of thought. Died Plymouth, New Hampshire, May 19, 1864.



EDGAR ALLAN POE

Born Boston, Jan. 19, 1809, of English and Maryland descent; raised in Richmond and educated in England and at University of Virginia; excelled as short story writer and as poet, showing, in both forms of authorship, brilliant originality of conception and presentation. Died Baltimore, Oct. 7, 1849.

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, American literary productiveness passed beyond its earlier limits, and a number of writers appeared whose originality and power were recognized at home and abroad. Already J. Fenimore Cooper had written his stories of Indian life; Benjamin Franklin's writings had been widely welcomed; Washington Irving had become recognized as a master of prose description; and William Cullen Bryant, beginning with *Thanatopsis* at the age of eighteen, was the earliest of a notable group of New England poets, novelists, historians, and essayists, among

whom are found the familiar names of John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, poets; Ralph Waldo

Emerson, James Russell Lowell, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, essayists and poets; and Nathaniel Hawthorne, novelist. Among



HENRY WADSWORTH
LONGFELLOW

Born Portland, Me., Feb. 27, 1807. Educated Bowdoin College; also studied abroad; professor at Bowdoin and at Harvard; issued first volume of poems, 1839; soon gained a place as a poet of wide popularity, appealing very powerfully to the young. Died 1882.

historians the most prominent names are those of W. H. Prescott, George Bancroft, and John Lothrop Motley. Besides these, and at odds with the New England school during his stormy life, was the original genius, Edgar Allan Poe, poet and master of the short story. The southern States produced a number of writers whose works, while not so widely read, are indispensable to the study and understanding of former times and thought. Among these are David Ramsay, Albert J. Pickett, Charles Gayarré, and George Tucker, historians; William Gilmore Simms. John P. Kennedy, Augusta Evans

Wilson, novelists; Mat-



RALPH WALDO EMERSON

thew Fontaine Maury, scientist; and John James Audubon, naturalist.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. In some respects ante-bellum expressions of Abraham Lincoln and of Alexander H. Stephens (afterwards Vice-President of the Confederate States) sound like echoes of each other. Lincoln said: "There is a physical difference between the white and the black races which will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And, inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior; and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

Born Boston, May 25, 1803. Educated Harvard College; studied for the ministry and served in several pastorates; resigned from ministry in 1832; noted as philosopher, essayist, and poet. Died Concord, 1882.

Stephens asserted at about the same time: "Equality does not exist between blacks and whites. The one race is inferior in many respects, physically and mentally, to the other. This should be received as a fixed invincible fact in all dealings with the subject."

Between the views of these two leaders, there was this important difference, however, that Lincoln favored all proper legal processes or moral persuasion to abolish African slavery, while Stephens frankly advocated it as the best condition for the undeveloped negro race. It is easily conceivable that, if the two men had exchanged places, their views might have changed also.

2. Minnesota and Oregon were admitted into the Union in 1858 and 1859, adding thereby very greatly to the growing political preponderance of the North.

3. Should you care to add any names to the list of American inventors and authors mentioned in Sec. 196? Among the latter, southern students might wish to include, as having begun their work at about the close of the period mentioned: Henry Timrod, Paul H. Hayne, Sidney Lanier, and perhaps the war poets, James R. Randall and Abram J. Ryan, or they might wish to include the later novelists. Western students would be most likely to mention Bret Harte, John Hay, Eugene Field, Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) and others. Students from the middle and eastern States could readily add to the list of noted authors mentioned in this chapter.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN: FIRST TERM, 1861-1865;
THE WAR OF SECESSION—THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT VS.
THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY; CAMPAIGNS OF 1861

197. Secession of Seven Southern States, 1860-1861.—Although the Republican party did not gain entire control of the legislative branch of the Federal government in the election of 1860, the southern secession movement, threatened in previous elections, was now begun in earnest. South Carolina called a convention, which met on the 17th of December, 1860, and on the 20th of the same month passed an ordinance of secession to dissolve the Union "under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America." This action of South Carolina was followed early in 1861 by similar ordinances of secession in Mississippi, January 9; Florida, January 10; Alabama, January 11; Georgia, January 19; Louisiana, January 26; and Texas, February 1. Here the secession movement halted, and the other southern States that later joined the Confederacy did not do so until the Federal government announced that it would use force to compel the seceded States to return to the Union.

The doctrine of secession has been discussed in the preceding pages; for that question had presented itself for consideration at several stages of Federal growth and expansion.¹ It is now important to understand how the exercise of the alleged right to secede was received in the South, why it was advocated by some and opposed by others; how it was received at the North, and why there should have been in that section widely different views as to the proper course for the Federal government to pursue.

¹ Sections 118, 134, 154, 178.

Those who advocated secession asserted that the rights of the South under the Constitution had not been respected in the North. This, they asserted, was evidenced by the passage of the "personal liberty" laws in defiance of Congress and the Constitution, and by the open hostility of a growing minority of the northern people. It was asserted that under the circumstances the two sections could not live together in harmony; that the elections had brought about the triumph of the Republicans, who denounced the decision of the Supreme Court in reference to the constitutionality of slavery in the territories. It was further argued that a wholly sectional majority would, without effective hindrance, pass even more burdensome tariff laws; and that for fifty years under high tariffs the agricultural South had been exploited to enrich the manufacturing North without receiving any of the benefits of the system of import duties. Hence, it was now time to separate from the North by the use of the right of withdrawal reserved to the States when they consented to join the Union.

Reasons for
secession in
the lower
South

On the other hand, there was a minority in the far South who wished at least to postpone secession, if not to prevent it altogether. This minority was led by Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, afterwards elected Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy. Stephens argued that the grievances of the South could be redressed within the Union. The anti-secession party was outvoted, however; and Stephens went with his State, as he had always said he would, since he believed that the State "had never parted with her right to command the ultimate allegiance of her citizens."

Opposition
to secession
in the lower
South

198. How the Secession of the Cotton States Was Regarded in the North.—In the North there was a great deal of doubt and indecision. Although Webster's eloquent setting forth of the theory of an indissoluble Union had gained adherents, the legislature of Massachusetts had as late as 1845 avowed the right of secession, when that State was opposing the annexation of Texas. Consequently, in New England there were many who could not

consistently oppose what they themselves had recently advocated. In the North there were really three widely divergent views as to secession: the first was, in effect, that the right of secession had always existed and that no attempt should be made to force the seceding States back into the Union against their will. The upholders of this theory did not believe that a Union "pinned together with bayonets" could possibly last. To this division of those opposed to coercion may be added such abolitionists as had themselves declared for disunion, because they wished to have no partnership with the upholders of slavery.²

The second view, represented by President Buchanan, declared that the right of secession did not exist, but denied that the Federal government had the right to coerce the seceding States into returning to the Union. This party was in power when the Cotton States seceded.

A third division, and one that ultimately was to shape the destinies of the country, was led by Abraham Lincoln, who modeled his views upon the earlier opinion of Webster and in accordance with the sentiment of his predecessor, Andrew Jackson—"The Union, it must be preserved." Lincoln wished to preserve the Union, and was ready, like Jackson, to use the resources of the Federal government to maintain it by force, if need be. He set aside the question of slavery and declared that it was not his purpose to interfere with it where it already existed. He ardently hoped for peace; but he would use force to maintain the Union.

199. Formation of the Southern Confederacy, 1861.—In the meantime, at Montgomery, Alabama, delegates from the

² So, at first, thought Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, then considered the most influential American newspaper. He endorsed the sentiment: "Let our erring sisters depart in peace." Many noted pulpit orators, such as Theodore Parker and Henry Ward Beecher, agreed with this expression of opinion. James Russell Lowell had, some time before, expressed the same idea in the *Biglow Papers*. Such was the intensity of feeling on the part of the extreme abolitionists that many of them openly declared that the Union should be dissolved, the sooner the better.

seceding States had taken steps to organize a central government. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was elected President and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President. ^{They were elected} under a constitution similar to that of the United States. ^{and the States} Protective tariffs and governmental boundaries ^{of the} were, however, expressly forbidden. President and Vice-President were to serve for six years, and were to be ineligible for re-election. The sovereignty of the States was explicitly recognized.

200. Efforts at Compromise, 1861.—While the Confederate government was being organized at Montgomery, and while the Federal government at Washington was temporizing and awaiting the change of administration from Buchanan to Lincoln, patriotic lovers of the Union were meeting at the Federal capital in an endeavor to arrange compromises between the sections and to restore the Union without an appeal to force. Senator Crittenden of Kentucky proposed a constitutional amendment restoring the Missouri compromise and proposed also a less objectionable fugitive slave law; but the Republicans, who now had a majority in Congress, since the withdrawal of the southern members, refused to consider these measures. Virginia now came forward, and, as in 1786, when the Confederation was in jeopardy, ^{she} proposed that the States send delegates to a general conference. Twenty-one States responded, ex-President Tyler was chosen the presiding officer, and the delegates continued to hold sessions in Washington throughout February, 1861, but none of the recommendations submitted to Congress by this body was accepted, and the conference failed to accomplish anything.

As fast as the Cotton States seceded, their Representatives and Senators in Congress formally withdrew from that body. Vessels plied between northern and southern ports flying the Stars and Stripes at one end and the Confederate flag at the other. Commissioners were appointed by the Confederate States to negotiate a treaty with the Federal government, and it seemed to many that two governments were to be established, one composed of the seven Cotton States, and the other

comprising the northern States, together with the eight southern States of Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri.

201. Inaugural Addresses of Davis and Lincoln.—In the latter part of February, 1861, Jefferson Davis delivered his inaugural address as President of the States that had then seceded.



JEFFERSON DAVIS

Born in Christian (present Todd) County, Ky., June 3, 1808. Was graduated at West Point, 1828; resigned from army and resided in Mississippi; entered Congress, 1846; resigned and served with distinction in Mexican war under Taylor; entered U.S. Senate in 1847-1851; as secretary of war under Pierce, successfully reorganized and enlarged the army and had surveys made for a transcontinental railroad; re-elected to the Senate in 1856, and served until the secession movement carried Mississippi out of the Union; after acting as provisional executive, was inaugurated President of Southern Confederacy, 1862; captured and imprisoned under indictment for treason, 1865-1867; released on bail and never brought to trial. Died 1889.

On March 4 Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office as President of the United States. In his inaugural address he declared that the Union was older

President
Lincoln's position

than the Constitution and the States, that the right of secession did not exist, and that the Federal government could properly use force to bring a seceding State back into the Union. The President also pledged himself and the Republican party not to interfere with slavery wherever it already existed. A portion of the inaugural address referred to a matter which eventually led to the opening of hostilities. This was the holding of Federal forts within the confines of the seceded States. Lincoln stated his purpose to hold these forts and to "collect the duties and imports."

His position on this question seemed clearly defined at this date; nevertheless, the Federal government or the cabinet officers still hesitated, promising the Confederate commissioners from time to time that the forts would be given up, the last of these promises being made by Secretary Seward to Justice Campbell of the United States Supreme

Contradictory action of the Federal government

Court as late as April 8. On that date Secretary Seward wrote: "Faith as to Sumter fully kept—wait and see." On the same day a message was received at Charleston informing Governor Pickens that President Lincoln purposed sending provisions to Fort Sumter.

202. Bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861.—As war vessels, supplies, and men were on the way from New York, President Davis accepted this proceeding as an act of war. Accordingly, Major Robert Anderson, in command of Fort Sumter, was called upon to surrender the fort. He refused, and on the 12th of April, 1861, the date of the arrival off Charleston of the Federal fleet, Sumter was bombarded by General P. G. T. Beauregard, in command of the Confederate forces at that point. On the following day, Anderson, after a gallant but hopeless defense, surrendered, and his small command of less than 100 men was permitted to march out with the honors of war. The Federal fleet outside Charleston harbor took no part in the combat.

From the Confederate point of view, the sending of arms and supplies to Sumter in April was not the first such act of war on the part of the Federal authorities. Supplies and reinforcements had been sent to Sumter during Buchanan's administration in the steamer

"Star of the West" episode; prior acts of war

Star of the West. The vessel was fired upon

by order of the State officials and compelled to withdraw from Charleston harbor. This event occurred on January 9, 1861, three months prior to the bombardment of Sumter, and is sometimes referred to as the first firing of the war. No one was killed in either engagement. From the Federal point of view there had been acts



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Born Hardin County, Ky., Feb. 12, 1809; received rudimentary education when his father took him to Indiana; at school he was noted for rewriting the confused thoughts of others in clearer language of his own; studied law in Illinois and was elected to legislature, 1834-1842; elected to Congress on Whig ticket in 1846 for one term; earnestly opposed slavery and its extension, but denounced the methods of abolitionist extremists; elected President, 1860; opposed secession and successfully prosecuted a war for the perpetuation of the Union; re-elected President, 1864; shot by assassin April 14, and died April 15, 1865.

of aggression on the part of the southern States when a number of Federal forts in the southern States had been seized by the State authorities. Where the forts could not be secured without a contest the Confederate authorities, anxious to avoid war, hoped to secure possession of them through negotiation or treaty with the Federal government.

203. The Issue Drawn.—The news of the fall of Sumter served to arouse the North, and the issue was clearly drawn when President Lincoln, on April 15, called for 75,000 volunteers, "to suppress combinations against the laws of the United States."

It will be remembered that eight of the southern States had opposed secession. In these States there was an immediate ex-
 Opposition to coercion of the Cotton States
 pression of opposition to a war of coercion or to the "invasion" of their sister States. Virginia promptly refused to contribute her quota of men and passed an ordinance of secession on April 17. Arkansas followed on May 6, North Carolina on May 20, and Tennessee on June 8. These States at once united with the Southern Confederacy. In the remaining four southern States the secession movement was put down. In Missouri there was a sharp struggle, Kentucky endeavored without success to maintain a position of neutrality, while the people of Delaware had little desire to secede. In Maryland, however, the sympathy with the other southern States was so strong that the government at Washington found it necessary to interpose very vigorously in the arrest of the members of the State legislature and of leading citizens, while thousands crossed the Potomac and joined the Confederate forces in Virginia.

In the meantime, the first blood was shed in Baltimore, when, on April 19, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment passed through
 First blood-shed
 that city on the way to Washington. Missiles were thrown at the soldiers, who replied with shots, and the conflict resulted in the death of four soldiers and twelve citizens.

204. Preparations for War.—Shortly after the secession of Virginia, the Confederate capital was moved from Montgomery to Richmond, and both governments made active preparations

for war. Only the most far-sighted, however, realized the magnitude of the probable conflict. Those who did in any measure realize it were the veterans on either side who had fought together in the Mexican War and against the Indians in the south and west. They knew that when they faced each other it was not going to be an easy victory for either. The majority of those who gaily enlisted seemed to think that the war would last a few months at most. The average southerner went into the struggle with an ignorant contempt for the fighting qualities of the North. The northerner enlisted with a like ignorance of the valor and character of his southern brother. The southerner was apt to think of the northerner as so involved in commercial pursuits as to have become incapacitated for war. The northerner thought of the southerner either as one who lived wholly by the labor of others, or as a weakling incapable of enduring the hardships of a prolonged military campaign. One failed to realize the grim determination and tremendous resources of the North; the other as little imagined the self-sacrificing devotion to cause, the unfailing fortitude, and the endurance of the South. Out of the struggle came glory and fame for both; but the untold suffering and horror of the conflict outweighed all its honors, and it should prove to be an everlasting warning against passion and prejudice in the future.

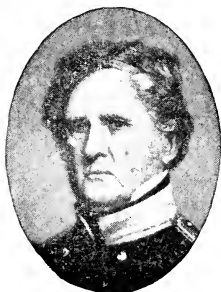
In point of numbers the contest was unequal. In the beginning, the North had 23 States with a population of 21,000,000. The South had 11 States with a population of 9,000,000, of which less than 6,000,000 were white. The North had also a population that was steadily expanding in the west and northwest, swelled by a great tide of immigration from which several hundred thousand men were drawn for service in the war. Neither side was prepared for the conflict, but the North had unequalled resources in its manufactures and an unlimited capacity for increasing them and for making all things necessary for war. The North had varied industries and was supplied with food in abundance from its western farmlands. It contained nearly all the

Sectional
prejudices
and miscon-
ceptions

Comparison
of resources

armories and arsenals of the government. Moreover, the prestige of the Federal government as the central authority of the federated republic for over seventy years had great weight abroad. It had an established treasury, an army, and a navy, the last being of the utmost importance in finally deciding the issue.

On the other hand, the South was lacking in every equipment for modern warfare. It contained but one cannon foundry and



WINFIELD SCOTT

Born Dinwiddie County, Va., June 13, 1786. Served with credit in War of 1812, and was brevetted major-general; commander-in-chief of forces in war with Mexico, 1846-1847, conducted the campaign against Vera Cruz and Mexico City; defeated for President by Franklin Pierce, 1852; took command at Washington in 1860, but gave way to McClellan in autumn of 1861; because of his careful observance of military forms and etiquette received the nickname of "Old Fuss and Feathers." Died 1866.

only a few small arsenals. Manufactories were practically nonexistent within its borders. For a long time the southern people had devoted themselves to raising cotton and tobacco, and they even bought a great part of their food supplies from the northern States or abroad. Slavery was largely responsible for this lack of diversity in occupations and products, a condition that seriously handicapped the South, if it was not the principal cause of ultimate failure.

At the same time, slavery was an advantage in that the slaves, being for the most part happy and contented, devoted themselves to the raising of foodstuffs for the southern armies and people. Moreover, their presence as an inferior people had played its part in producing a race of men unsurpassed in traits of courage and force of character.³ In military operations the Confederacy had an advantage in defending inner lines on its own territory; but this advantage was offset by the lack of a Confederate navy to meet Federal blockades or Federal invasion by means of the great inland water routes. The far South also laid particular stress upon the influence of its enormous production of cotton to enable the Confederacy to secure supplies from abroad or even in-

³ Burke referred to this fact in his speech on conciliation with the American colonies.

tervention on the part of foreign powers. This, they thought, would more than offset the recognized preponderance of the sea power of the Federal government. It was not believed possible effectively to blockade the extensive coast line of the southern States.⁴

205. Federal Campaign in Western Virginia, 1861.—The first aggressive movement against the seceding States was led by General George B. McClellan, who advanced into western Virginia with a force of 20,000 men. This was done in order to secure that section of the State, which was strongly Union in sentiment, like the mountainous parts of Kentucky and Tennessee. McClellan was successful and drove before him the Confederate force of about 5000 men sent to oppose him. Later, by irregular and unconstitutional methods which were upheld by their advocates on the ground that they were justified by the exigencies of war, the western part of the State was detached from Virginia and made into the new State of West Virginia.⁵

206. Campaign in Eastern Virginia, 1861.—Fighting in western Virginia was followed by sharp skirmishes in the eastern part of the State, where the first great battle of the war was to take place.⁶ By the middle of July the Federal troops under the leader-

⁴See also reference to the historical investigations of Charles Francis Adams, "Sidelights and Suggestions," p. 218.

⁵Some of those who opposed the secession of Virginia met at Wheeling in June, 1861. These, claiming that they represented the whole State, established a government calling itself the Commonwealth of Virginia and chose Francis H. Pierpont provisional governor. On the basis of this claim, they gave themselves permission to create a new State, which action was subsequently sanctioned by Congress, and by proclamation of President Lincoln, April 20, 1863. This proclamation declared that 48 of the former counties of Virginia were included in the new State, which made provision for the admission of seven more counties, two of which, Berkeley and Jefferson, were annexed to West Virginia in the summer of 1863. Difficulties arising between the two States with regard to these two counties and to the payment of the undivided State debt gave rise to important suits in the United States Supreme Court, some points of which have yet (1914) to be settled.

⁶The most noteworthy of these skirmishes was that at Big Bethel on the York River peninsula, in which the Confederates defeated a Federal detachment.

ship of General Irvin McDowell had begun to push forward to the Confederate capital. McDowell's effective force was 45,000 men; but, leaving 15,000 of these to protect Washington, he advanced on a Confederate force of 20,000 under General Beauregard, posted at Bull Run, on the railroad route to Richmond.



GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN

Born Philadelphia, Dec. 3, 1826. Was graduated at West Point, 1846; served with honor in Mexican war, receiving several promotions under Scott; sent abroad in 1855 to study European army organization in Crimean war; resigned and became railroad official in the West; commissioned Major-General at outbreak of War of Secession; appointed general-in-chief, U.S.A., on retirement of General Scott; organized an efficient army after Bull Run defeat; checked in an advance on Richmond and relieved from command; again took command after Pope's defeat at second Bull Run; blockaded Confederate advance into Maryland, but was a second time relieved of command; unsuccessful candidate for President in 1864; elected governor New Jersey, 1877. Died 1885

In the Valley of Virginia, some 40 or 50 miles away, there was an auxiliary Confederate force of 9000 men under General Joseph E. Johnston. General Winfield Scott, then commander-in-chief of the Federal armies, directed General Robert Patterson, with an army of 20,000 men, to keep watch over Johnston in order to prevent the latter from uniting with Beauregard. McDowell's plan was to turn Beauregard's left flank and force him back on Richmond. But when McDowell was ready for the attack on the morning of July 21, it was discovered that Johnston had eluded Patterson and had joined Beauregard with 6000 of his men, including the brigade under T. J. Jackson. McDowell's attack on the Confederate left was vigorous and well directed, and in several hours' fighting he had driven back the southern lines of defense; but in the afternoon Jackson advanced with the bayonet, the remainder of Johnston's army arrived from the Valley, and the battle resulted in a complete victory for the Confederates, many

Battle of
Bull Run or
Manassas,
July 21

of the half-drilled Federal militia not stopping in their flight until Washington was reached.

The final fighting strength of the two armies on the battlefield was probably more nearly equal than in any other great battle of the war. The Union loss was reported as 460 killed, 1124

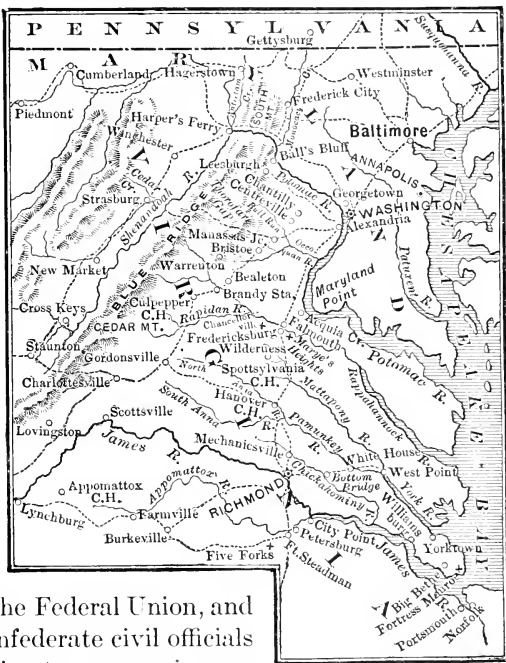
wounded, and 1312 missing; the Confederates reported 387 killed, 1582 wounded, and 13 missing.⁷

The result of the first battle of Bull Run, or first Manassas, did not discourage the prosecution of the war, but served to

Results of
the first
great battle

arouse the Federal Administration and the people of the North to a greater determination to overthrow the Confederacy. In the South the battle had the effect of creating over-confidence and some disposition to division and differences. Partly because the Confederate government sought independence only and had no desire to invade the

States or territory in the Federal Union, and partly because the Confederate civil officials were confident of ultimate success in any event, there was no effort made to follow up aggressively the fruits of the victory and to invest the Federal capital. President Lincoln, on the other hand, issued a call for an additional 500,000 men, and Congress supported all measures that had been put forward by the President before that body had assembled. McClellan, an excellent



BATTLEFIELDS OF VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, AND PENNSYLVANIA

⁷ General Jackson's cool courage and immovable stand on this occasion, when a part of the Confederate army was being driven back almost in rout, won for him the name of "Stonewall."

organizer and a leader highly popular with the troops, was now placed in command.⁸

On October 21 a Federal force of 2000 men crossed the Potomac near Leesburg, but was driven back with the loss of nearly half its number by Confederate troops under General Evans. This ended for the year the fighting in the east.

207. Campaign in the West, 1861.—In the west there were numerous minor engagements covering a great expanse of border



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CAMP LIFE AND DRILLING FOR BATTLE—A PICTURE ILLUSTRATING THE GLAMOUR OF WAR

territory, the principal fighting taking place in Missouri, where the Confederates were finally compelled to retire, leaving the Federal forces in practical possession of the State. In Kentucky, the hostile armies maintained their respective positions.

208. Status of the Confederacy.—The Southern Confederacy claimed recognition by foreign powers as a *de jure* government.

⁸ A number of southern soldiers, especially privates, had gone to the front with baggage, "change of raiment," and accompanied by servants. Many of these now thought that the war was practically over. On the other hand, the northern army was followed by coaches, private citizens, and politicians, bent upon seeing a great spectacle, and getting and publishing first-hand accounts of the victory they so confidently expected.

or a government that was duly organized and acting under regular process of law, just as the Confederate States were acting during the American Revolution. This claim of *de jure* government was never accorded by foreign powers; but the Southern Confederacy was recognized as a *de facto* government, or one that actually existed and which was accorded the status of a belligerent without recognition as a country or nation. This recognition as a belligerent rather than as people engaged in an insurrection resulted, according to the law of nations, as a consequence of the blockade of southern ports by the Federal fleet. At first the crew of a captured southern steamer, the *Savannah*, were put in irons to be hanged as pirates; but the Confederate government declared its purpose to retaliate by hanging an equal number of Federal prisoners captured on land. In the meantime, however, the United States Supreme Court formally recognized the belligerency of the Southern Confederacy, subsequent to which act an arrangement or cartel was drawn up for the regular exchange of prisoners.⁹

European dependence upon the cotton and tobacco crops of the South was one of the things counted upon by southerners to influence or bring about foreign intervention and recognition of the Confederacy. In the autumn of 1861, James M. Mason of Virginia and John Slidell of Louisiana were appointed commissioners to Great Britain and France respectively. After running the Federal blockade to Cuba, they took passage on the British mail steamer *Trent*. On the way to England the *Trent* was overhauled by Captain Wilkes, in command of the United States warship *San Jacinto*. The Confederate Commissioners were taken to Boston as prisoners and Congress approved

Claims of the
Confederate
States gov-
ernment

The *Trent*
affair, 1861

⁹ Great Britain was for a long time harshly criticised in the North for her early recognition of the belligerent rights of the Confederacy. On the other hand, she was criticised by the South for not granting to the Confederacy all the rights due a belligerent, such as the establishment of prize courts for Confederate captures on the high seas. Great Britain also denied that right to the Federal government, but such a course worked no hardship on the North, since all the Federal ports were open.

the act of Captain Wilkes. As this act was a reversion to the British policy of search and seizure that brought on the war of 1812, and as Great Britain demanded redress, Lincoln admitted the mistake and the commissioners were released. Probably war with Great Britain was thus averted.

209. Summary.—The battles of 1861 may be said to have resulted in favor of the South, while other developments demonstrated the superiority of the North. The Confederates had won the great battle of Bull Run, or First Manassas, and several minor engagements. On the other hand, Maryland, Missouri, Western Virginia, and part of Kentucky were controlled by the Federal forces, which, in addition to greatly increased numerical strength, showed wonderful improvement in efficiency under the direction of General McClellan. More important still, and foreshadowing the true cause of the downfall of



P. G. T. BEAUREGARD

Born New Orleans, May 28, 1818. Was graduated at West Point, 1838; served with honor in Mexican war, receiving promotion under Scott; was superintendent at West Point when Louisiana seceded; resigned and appointed brigadier-general by Confederate government; commanded at bombardment of Fort Sumter and at first Bull Run; afterwards transferred to commands in the west. Died 1893.

the Confederacy, were the operations of the Union naval forces. These had already captured the less guarded stations along the line of the Atlantic coast, such as the forts on the Hatteras inlet and at Port Royal. Other forts had been held by the Federal government from the beginning, such as Fortress Monroe in Virginia. Already had begun the blockade which was to cut off Confederate supplies and which soon "encircled the Confederacy with a line of fire." This blockade was never really broken, and against it the Confederate government could oppose but a small number of badly constructed, though novel, vessels. Besides these, however, some cruisers were built or bought abroad which inflicted great losses upon the commerce of the United States.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Sections 197 and 198 have an important bearing upon all that follows in several chapters and also upon much of the preceding history.

2. Discussion of the events that led up to the War of Secession has given rise to no end of speculation. If Major Anderson had replied from Fort Sumter to the shots fired at the *Star of the West* in January, war might have been begun during the administration of Buchanan. Anderson was about to fire upon the South Carolina batteries when restrained by the advice of a subordinate officer.

3. Be sure to have a clear idea of the division of Southern States as to: (1) the seven that seceded first; (2) the four that seceded later; (3) the four that were divided in sentiment but were held in the Union, and (4) Western Virginia, which was cut off from Virginia and made into the new State of West Virginia.

CHAPTER XXIX

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN: FIRST TERM, 1861-1865; THE WAR OF SECESSION—CAMPAIGNS OF 1862

210. Federal Plans of Campaign, 1862.—At the beginning of 1862 the Federal plan of campaign consisted of three main parts: (1) the invasion of Virginia and the capture of the Confederate capital; (2) a general advance by the western armies through Kentucky and Tennessee in coöperation with fleets of gunboats and other war vessels descending the Mississippi from above and with a Federal fleet designed to capture New Orleans and open up the river from below; (3) the maintenance of an effective blockade of the ports on the Atlantic coast and those on the Gulf of Mexico.¹

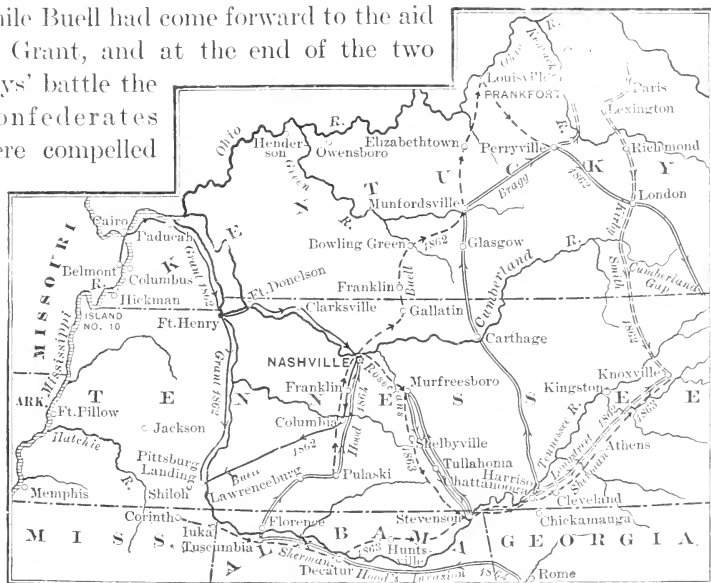
211. Land Campaigns in the West.—Aggressive movements were begun first in the west. In February the Union forces under General Ulysses S. Grant and Commodore Foote captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, a success followed by the capture of Fort Donelson on the Cumberland; while the Confederate losses in the defense and surrender of these posts amounted to over 12,000 men.

Following up these early successes, General Grant moved the Army of the Tennessee up the river of that name, accompanied by a fleet of gunboats. Near Shiloh church Grant halted to await the arrival of Buell, who had in the meantime occupied Nashville. Twenty miles distant was a Confederate army under General Albert Sidney Johnston, who at once advanced in an effort to defeat Grant before Buell could

¹ Roanoke Island and New Berne were captured in January, and Fort Pulaski, at the entrance to Savannah harbor, was captured in the following April.

unite with him. Johnston fell upon Grant's army on April 6 at Shiloh. Two days of fierce fighting followed. The Confederates were at first victorious; but as Johnston was pressing his advantage, the Confederate leader, rated as one of the ablest commanders on either side, fell mortally wounded. The Confederate attack became thereupon seriously disorganized; while Buell had come forward to the aid of Grant, and at the end of the two days' battle the Confederates were compelled

Death of Albert Sidney Johnston



BATTLEFIELDS OF KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

to retreat. The losses on either side were nearly equal, amounting in both armies to about 20,000 in killed, wounded, and captured. At first the Confederates had the advantage in numbers, but they in turn were outnumbered after the arrival of Buell.

Shiloh was the severest battle that had yet taken place during the war, and it resulted in the first serious break in the Confederate line of defense on land. After the battle of Shiloh, General Halleck took command of the western army. He now had a force of 100,000 men, or just about double the

First breaks in Confederate lines in the west

Confederate force under Beauregard, the latter withdrawing from Corinth to Tupelo, Mississippi. In the fall of Corinth the second line of defense of the Confederates in the west was broken, and their railroad system between the east and the west was cut in two.²

212. Naval Operations on the Mississippi, 1862.—By the end of April Commodore David G. Farragut had entered the Mississippi River from the south; and after running by forts Jackson and St. Philip with war ships and gunboats, he defeated a small Confederate fleet and captured the city of New Orleans. General Butler, with a force of 14,000 men, was placed in command of the city, and Farragut passed up the Mississippi, securing the surrender of every town on the river as far as Vicksburg within the next two months.³

Shortly after the fall of New Orleans, the Federal gunboats, continuing their attack from above, descended the Mississippi to Memphis, which was hemmed in on the east by Federal armies.⁴ On June 6 the city surrendered, subsequent to a Federal victory over some Confederate vessels engaged in the defense of the river at that point.

213. Naval Operations in the East, 1862.—During the first two months of 1862 the best equipped of the Federal armies was, except for constant drilling under the direction of General McClellan, kept inactive in the vicinity of Washington, although it

² This series of battles in the west was preceded by a movement under General George H. Thomas, who advanced into eastern Kentucky and defeated the Confederates in a battle at Mill Springs. Thomas, however, was not supported in his movement, and there were no permanent results from this victory. Thomas was a Virginian who fought for the Union. He is perhaps the only prominent commander on either side who neither surrendered nor sustained defeat during the war.

³ Commodore, afterwards Admiral Farragut, was born in Tennessee, but remained in the Federal service upon the outbreak of the war.

⁴ During March and April, Commodore Foote and General Pope succeeded in capturing Confederate fortifications at New Madrid and Island Number 10, while General Curtis defeated the Confederate forces in southern Missouri in the battle of Pea Ridge, driving the Confederates into Arkansas.

was nearly three times as large as the Confederate force immediately opposed to it at Manassas, under General Joseph E. Johnston. When, finally, McClellan showed signs of moving forward, Johnston began to retreat; but before there had been any serious engagement on land, a combat took place in Hampton Roads that was destined to revolutionize the naval warfare of the world.

When the Federal forces had abandoned Norfolk during the previous year, they had

The wooden frigate *Merrimac* transformed into the ironclad *Virginia*

scuttled and sunk the *Merrimac*, a wooden frigate. As the Confederate government had no navy, Captain John Mercer Brooke conceived

the idea of raising the *Merrimac* and covering its sides with locomotive track rails and iron plates, arranged in sloping fashion so as the more readily to deflect the fire of the enemy.

This was accordingly done, and after many months of preparation, the *Merrimac*, now renamed the *Virginia*, steamed out of the harbor of Norfolk to attack the Federal fleet near Fortress

The *Virginia* attacks the Federal fleet, March 8

Monroe. Equipped with but ten guns, and accompanied by two tiny gunboats, she advanced to meet the fire of the whole Federal fleet totalling over 300 guns. In a short time she sank the *Cumberland* and destroyed the *Congress*, although the crews of both vessels fought with unsurpassed courage and skill. Turning upon the remainder of the Federal fleet, the *Virginia* caused the *Minnesota*, the *St. Lawrence*, and the *Roanoke* to run aground. She then turned back to Norfolk, planning on the following day to complete the destruction of the Federal fleet.

In the meantime, however, there had appeared in Hampton Roads a small armored antagonist, which had been constructed from better material and after a more serviceable fashion. This



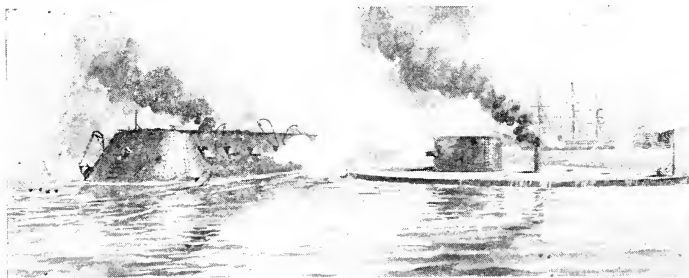
ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON

Born Mason County, Ky., Feb. 3, 1803. Was graduated at West Point, 1826; served in Indian wars on the frontier; resigned from army in 1834; settled in Texas and served in its war for independence, where he became commander-in-chief; secretary of war of Republic of Texas, 1838; served with honor in United States army in War with Mexico, 1847; appointed general under Confederacy, 1861, and was killed in battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862.

vessel was the *Monitor* and was equipped with two large guns in a revolving turret. It was designed by a Swede named John

The *Monitor*
meets the
Virginia,
March 9

Eriessson and had been likened to a "cheese box on a raft." The *Virginia* was larger, but slow and very unwieldy; its engines were defective and at best could make but four to six miles an hour. The *Monitor*, on the other hand, was agile and could place its shots with greater precision from its revolving turrets. After a fierce duel of several hours' duration, without decided advantage to either vessel, Captain Worden of the *Monitor* having been badly wounded, the latter vessel retreated to shallow water where the *Virginia* could not follow her.



ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE "MONITOR" AND THE "VIRGINIA" (ORIGINALLY THE "MERRIMAC"), MARCH 9, 1862

The *Virginia*, with its battering ram broken off from collision with the *Cumberland*, and having sustained other injuries, retired to Norfolk for repairs. When it again appeared some weeks later, the *Monitor* and the other Federal vessels refused its terrible challenge to battle and retreated under the guns of Fortress Monroe. Neither ironclad took any further important part in the war, and the *Virginia* was burned by the Confederates upon the evacuation of Norfolk. In the meantime, the *Virginia* had created a panic in the coast cities of the north, which were fearful of an immediate attack.⁵

⁵ The name *Virginia* is used here instead of the more generally used *Merrimac* because this was the name under which she fought, and it is right and proper to call her by the name so given her. Moreover, it should be

214. McClellan's Campaign in the East, 1862.—In April, McClellan prepared to advance upon Richmond by way of Chesapeake Bay and the York peninsula. General Johnston had retreated from Manassas, where he had concealed the weakness of his forces and equipment by erecting wooden or "Quaker" guns along a part of the line of his fortifications. McClellan now landed more than 100,000 men near Fortress Monroe. At Yorktown, a force of 11,000 Confederates under General Magruder delayed the Federal commander until he was reinforced by Johnston, who assumed command of the Confederate armies in Virginia. Johnston, however, was forced to retreat up the peninsula before the overwhelming numbers of McClellan.

At Williamsburg there was heavy fighting on May 5. The Federal van was at first repulsed, but McClellan continued to advance until he had taken up a position within sight of the church spires of Richmond. Johnston's defensive force consisted of 63,000 men; but the latter assumed the offensive and attacked McClellan vigorously in the battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, which continued

Robert E. Lee succeeds J.E. Johnston

through May 31 and June 1. General Johnston was seriously wounded in this engagement, and Robert E. Lee was put in command of the Confederate army, while McClellan sent urgent

clearly understood that Captain Brooke, an American, planned the first ironclad that proved its worth in battle. When it was learned that the Confederates were reconstructing the *Merrimac* with armor plates, Ericssen set to work to build an armored vessel that could give her combat on equal terms, and such was the rapidity of its construction that both ships were ready at about the same time. The success of the *Virginia* in the first fight with the Federal fleet and her duel with the *Monitor* revolutionized the naval warfare of the world.



JOHN M. BROOKE

Born Tampa, Fla., Dec. 18, 1826. Was graduated at United States Naval Academy, 1847; under Maury at Naval Observatory, 1851-1853; invented deep sea sounding apparatus by which ocean bottom was surveyed for the first Atlantic cables; served under Southern Confederacy; first utilized and developed the principle of the air chamber in the use of large ordnance; planned the first ironclad (the *Virginia*) that demonstrated worth in actual war; professor of physics and astronomy at Virginia Military Institute. Died 1906.

dispatches to Washington for reinforcements from McDowell's army of 40,000 men then in the neighborhood of Manassas.

McClellan's expectations of obtaining reinforcements were not, however, realized, because of the rapid movements and brilliant tactics of Stonewall Jackson in the Valley of Virginia, over one hundred miles away. Here Jackson was in command of 15,000 men and was watched by two Federal armies, each greater than his own, commanded by Generals Frémont and Banks, respectively. After being repulsed by a strong Federal force under Shields in the battle of Kernstown

in March, Jackson retreated; but, about the first of May, he advanced rapidly across the Valley, fell upon, and defeated a part of Frémont's army at McDowell. Without losing any time, he followed up this victory

by driving before him a part of Banks's army at Front Royal. Continuing down the Valley toward Harper's Ferry, Jackson defeated another part of Banks's army at Newtown, and on the next day routed the main body at Winchester, driving it across the Potomac. General Shields, with a division from McDowell's army, was now sent into the Valley to coöperate with

Frémont and crush Jackson's small force. But before Shields could unite with Frémont, Jackson defeated the latter at Cross Keys on the 8th of June, and, turning around the southern end of the Massanutten Mountain, defeated Shields at Port Republic on the following day.

Jackson had carried out this campaign under instructions from General Lee, who had directed him to endeavor to clear the Valley of Federal troops, to threaten Washington, and then to join him in the defense of Richmond. This movement had the effect hoped for in that it changed the Federal anticipation of success to a feeling of serious apprehension for the safety of the capital. McDowell's force, therefore, was called upon to protect the defenses of Washington. Within the space of a month, Jackson's army had marched 400 miles and had fought six pitched battles together with a number of minor engagements.

Valley campaign of Stonewall Jackson, 1862

Battles of McDowell, Front Royal, and Winchester, May, 1862

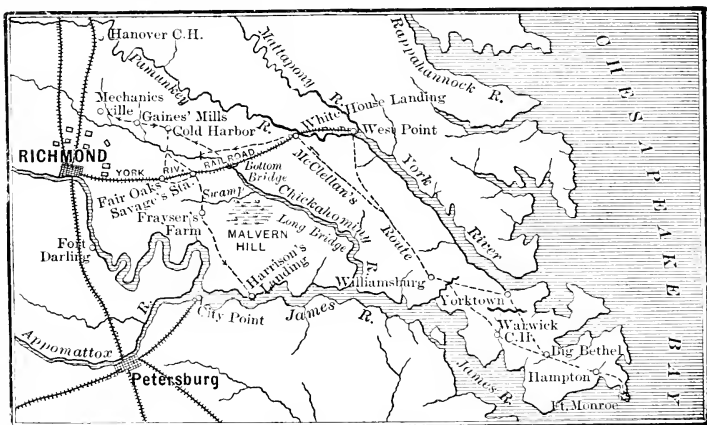
Cross Keys and Port Republic, June 8 and 9

Results of Jackson's campaign

Moreover, it had captured thousands of prisoners and a quantity of supplies that were badly needed by the Confederates. Jackson now marched rapidly out of the Valley in order to reinforce General Lee before Richmond.

When Lee learned that Jackson was ready to join him, thereby increasing his forces to 80,000 men, he prepared to attack McClellan, who had 105,000 men.⁶ On June 26 Lee attacked McClellan at Mechanicsville, the latter withdrawing at the end of the day to Gaines' Mill and Cold Harbor, where, on the following day, the Confederates were victorious. McClellan was now obliged to abandon his plans, and to withdraw in the

Lee attacks
McClellan
June, 1862



McCLELLAN'S CAMPAIGN: YORKTOWN TO RICHMOND

direction of the James River. Lee followed closely, giving battle at Savage Station, Frazier's Farm, and finally at Malvern Hill, where the Federal forces made a stubborn stand and repulsed the Confederate advance; but on the night after the last battle, McClellan gave up the hard fought field, and proceeded down the river to the protection of the Federal fleet.

⁶ While making preparation for the advance, General J. E. B. Stuart, with a force of cavalry, entirely encircled McClellan's army, confusing the latter, and aiding the Confederates with valuable information secured.

The fighting in these Seven Days' battles was extremely severe, and both armies acquitted themselves with honor. ^{McClellan superseded by Pope} McClellan and his corps commanders had managed their retreat skilfully, and had inflicted a loss of 20,000 men upon the Confederates, the Union loss being 16,000. Lincoln now ordered McClellan to the defenses of Washington, and appointed General Halleck commander-in-chief of the Federal forces, at the same time calling for 300,000 more men. General John Pope was placed in immediate command of the army in Virginia, which was later known as the Army of the Potomac.

215. Financial Problems of Federal and Confederate Governments.—In the meantime, one of the greatest problems both governments were obliged to face was that of meeting the expenses of the tremendous conflict, extending over thousands of miles of territory and covering the equipment and services of millions of men. In the Confederacy the suffering was already severe, and destined to grow worse as time went on. In the North the prestige of an established government and its organized resources maintained a better credit, although the banks suspended specie payment in the latter part of 1861. The expenses of the Federal government had mounted to two million dollars a day, rising later to three million dollars a day and over.⁷ Congress, now under the control of the Republican party, increased the protective tariff greatly, and continued to raise the rates for several years.

216. Pope's Campaign in the East, 1862.—Some weeks subsequent to the Seven Days' battles and McClellan's withdrawal from the York peninsula, General Pope began to assume the aggressive in the neighborhood of Washington. He called to his command the defeated armies of Banks and Frémont from the Valley, while McClellan's army was to be transferred by detachments to the army near Manassas. As soon as these plans be-

⁷ Congress passed in February, 1862, a measure known as the Legal Tender Act, authorizing an issue of \$100,000,000 in notes, which, by law, creditors were compelled to accept.

came apparent to General Lee, the latter ordered Jackson to march against Pope before McClellan's detachments could join him. Jackson moved rapidly, and successfully attacked Banks's corps of Pope's army at Cedar Run, August 9. Battle of Cedar Run, Aug. 9

On the 29th and 30th of August, Lee and Jackson united in defeating Pope on the former battlefield of Bull Run or Manassas, and Pope's army retreated to Washington in almost as great a state of panic as the forces of McDowell had been in the previous year. Second battle of Bull Run or Manassas, Aug. 29-30 The Confederate ranks, however, were greatly reduced by this succession of battles, the soldiers were ill clad and lacked in a great measure provisions and munitions of war, a lack which had been only partially supplied by the capture of Federal wagon trains. Nevertheless, the Confederate commander now prepared to cross the Potomac, in the hope that a successful invasion of the North would end the war and lead to the recognition of the Southern Confederacy.⁸

217. Lee Marches Northward, 1862.—In accordance with this plan, Jackson was ordered to drive the Federal troops out of the northern end of the Shenandoah Valley into Harper's Ferry and to capture that stronghold. This he accomplished by September 15, capturing 12,500 men Jackson captures Harper's Ferry, Sept. 15 and valuable munitions of war; whereupon he immediately marched to join Lee in western Maryland.

In the meantime Pope had been superseded by McClellan, who had again been called to the command of the Federal army, and who was ready to move from Washington on September 5. McClellan again in command The advance guards of the hostile armies met in the mountains not far from Frederick; and here, fortunately for McClellan, a copy of Lee's plan of campaign was discovered,

⁸ His reasons, in part, for so doing lay in the expectation of securing the aid and assistance of Maryland, but western Maryland, unlike the eastern portion of the State, was, in sentiment, inclined to the Union. Eastern Maryland contributed to the southern armies thousands of volunteers, many of whom were lineal descendants of those who had commanded or served in the ranks of the famous "Old Maryland Line" of the Revolutionary War.

the same having been mislaid or lost through the carelessness of a Confederate officer.

McClellan at once took advantage of his opportunity and marched to attack Lee while Jackson was engaged in the capture of Harper's Ferry. At South Mountain a sharp fight occurred, in which the Confederate forces held McClellan's army in check for a sufficient time to enable Lee partially to prepare for battle. At Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek, the armies met in a general engagement on September 17, where



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DEAD UPON THE BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM—A PICTURE SHOWING THE HORRORS OF WAR

occurred one of the mightiest struggles in the history of modern warfare. Every foot of ground was stubbornly contested by both armies and the losses were unparalleled in proportion to the numbers engaged. The Federal losses in killed and wounded amounted to 11,600 men, while the Confederate losses were somewhat greater or over 11,700. Although the Confederate losses were almost twice as heavy as the Federal in proportion to the number of men engaged in the battle, Lee awaited McClellan's attack the whole of the day following this bloody conflict. During the night of the 18th he retired across the Potomac River at

Shepherdstown, where there was a sharp engagement in which the Federal advance was repulsed. McClellan's forces on the field of Antietam were 87,000 men. The fighting strength of Lee, including Jackson's reinforcements, amounted to 37,000 men.⁹

218. Proclamation of Emancipation.—Some months prior to the battle of Antietam, President Lincoln had prepared a proclamation for the emancipation of such slaves as were in territory then occupied by those engaged in active resistance to Federal authority. This proclamation was issued by the President as a war measure intended not only to embarrass the Confederacy by the promise of freedom to the slaves in the seceded States, but to enlist the moral support of the world in ^{Object and scope of} proclamation favor of the Federal cause. Lincoln did not believe, however, that he had the constitutional right to liberate the slaves of citizens in loyal territory or in territory controlled by the Federal armies; consequently, the proclamation did not apply to the States of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and portions of Virginia, Tennessee, and Louisiana. The proclamation was to take effect on the first of January, 1863.¹⁰

219. Burnside's Campaign in the East, 1862.—McClellan now prepared to advance once more upon Richmond, this time wholly by land; but to the authorities at Washington his movements

⁹ These numbers are founded on McClellan's report and Lee's estimate. Livermore, Ropes, and some other special statisticians are inclined to raise the Confederate total to 50,000 men. The British authority, Henderson, and others, maintain that Lee's estimate of his own effective strength is correct. It should be remembered that the Confederates called this great conflict the battle of Sharpsburg, from the name of the village near which it was fought.

¹⁰ It will be seen from this that the Emancipation Proclamation did not actually liberate any slaves, although it may be said to have led to such liberation by subsequent action of Congress and the State legislatures. If the proclamation had aroused the slaves in resistance throughout the Confederacy, the southern armies could not have been maintained in the field. That the slaves remained faithful to the trust committed to them by the men who went to the front is not only a tribute to the training and character of the southern negroes, but an enduring memorial of the kindly relations between masters and servants.

seemed too slow, so that he was again removed from command, and General Ambrose E. Burnside was appointed to succeed him.

Burnside advanced rapidly to the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg, whither Lee marched to confront him. Here Lee assumed a strongly fortified position, and although the Federal army attacked him in a series of gallant charges, it was completely repulsed. In the battle of Fredericksburg the Federal forces were about double those of the Confederates, and their losses were more than twice as great, being upwards of 12,000 men.



UNION TROOPS CROSSING THE RAPPAHANNOCK PRIOR TO THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG,
DECEMBER 13, 1862

220. Fighting in the West in the Latter Part of 1862.—In the west the latter half of the year saw the Federal armies engaged in an effort to penetrate still farther the Confederate defense, and to secure the line of the Mississippi. An important objective point was Chattanooga in southern Tennessee, through which the railroads ran northeastward to Richmond, and southeastward to Atlanta. There was a great deal of indecisive fighting, marching, and counter-marching on the part of the Confederate forces under Generals Braxton Bragg and E. Kirby Smith. The latter won a victory at Richmond, Kentucky, and greatly alarmed the northern

cities along the Ohio. Buell, however, was heavily reinforced and turned upon Bragg at Perryville, Kentucky. Here a battle was fought on October 8, after which Bragg retired before the superior numbers of his antagonists. The Confederates hoped that Bragg's movement into Kentucky would loosen the hold of the Federals under Grant and Rosecrans. At Corinth, the Confederate Generals Van Dorn and Price attacked the Federal forces on October 3 and 4, but were defeated with heavy losses.

Battle of
Perryville

Battle of
Corinth, Oct.
3-4

General Grant now led the Army of the Tennessee through Mississippi against the Confederate fortifications at Vicksburg. He also ordered an army under General William T. Sherman to proceed along the line of the Mississippi River to coöperate with the movement. Grant's plan of campaign, however, was completely overturned by the rapid movements of General Van Dorn, who destroyed his supplies at Holly Springs, Mississippi, where also the Confederate cavalry under General N. B. Forrest cut the railroad in his rear. Grant was now compelled to retreat, and Sherman was defeated at Chickasaw Bayou by a Confederate force under General Stephen D. Lee.

Attempted
Federal ad-
vance upon
Vicksburg,
1862

General Rosecrans now replaced Buell in command of the Federal army in Kentucky. The former advanced against Bragg, and the armies met on the last day of the year in the battle of Murfreesboro, Tennessee. The engagement was indecisive in its results, and was renewed on January 2. This proved to be a drawn battle, and both armies were so badly shattered that neither one assumed the aggressive for several months thereafter.

Battle of
Murfrees-
boro, Dec. 31,
1862, Jan. 2,
1863

221. Summary.—The results of the second year of fighting may be said to have been on the whole favorable to the Federal government, whose land and naval forces had recovered much of Tennessee and Arkansas, and had secured the greater part of the Mississippi River from both above and below. On the Atlantic coast more Confederate forts had been captured, and the blockade caused increasing distress in the South on account of the lack of supplies. On the other hand, considerable opposition to the

prosecution of the war had developed in the North, and the Republican majority in Congress had been reduced. It was necessary for several States to use the draft in raising their quotas of troops, and free speech was in some cases put down with violence.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. The War of Secession is properly given greater space than any other conflict. Any single campaign may be developed with profit from outside reading, such as Grant's campaign in the west, Farragut's operations at New Orleans, or Stonewall Jackson's campaign in the Valley of Virginia.

2. Numbers and losses in the various battles are still subjects of dispute; although careful writers, through the most painstaking investigations, are reconciling many real and apparent discrepancies of statement. See, for example, the conflicting figures of the Confederate forces at Antietam, p. 293.

3. There were many minor engagements in the east, in the west, and along the coast; and there were many acts of individual bravery on either side. These cannot be given in the limited scope of this book; but probably there are some students in every class who can contribute an interesting account from general reading. Because they may be described in greater detail, accounts of minor engagements often prove more interesting than the descriptions of noted battles. There were minor engagements both immediately before and after the second battle of Bull Run, in which brave leaders on either side met death, the most notable being that at Chantilly where the gallant Major-General Philip Kearny, U. S. A., was killed.

4. Possibly no more remarkable fighting occurred in the history of the war than that in which the Confederate armor-clad steamer, the *Arkansas*, challenged, passed through, and fought off the upper and lower Federal fleets at Vicksburg on July 15, 1862.¹¹

Such accounts may be read in connection with the exploits of the Confederate ironclad *Albemarle* on the coast of North Carolina, and the feat, unsurpassed in daring and endurance, of Lieutenant W. B. Cushing, U. S. N., in blowing up that vessel on the night of October 27, 1864.

5. In the description of the various campaigns, the viewpoint presented in this volume varies from the Federal to the Confederate side and *vice versa*. Not only is such a plan fair, but it lends interest and clearness to the narrative. In the west, it seems better to follow the aggressive campaigns of Grant and Farragut. In the east, the viewpoint gains unity and clearness by beginning with McClellan's forward movement and closing the campaign with the story of the successful stand, followed by the forward movements, of Jackson and Lee.

¹¹ Detailed accounts may be obtained in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," and from other sources.

CHAPTER XXX

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1861-1865; THE WAR OF SECESSION—CAMPAIGNS OF 1863

222. Hooker's Campaign in the East, 1863.—In January, 1863, General Burnside was superseded by General Joseph E. Hooker. The Federal army did not become active, however, until April, when it began a movement on Chancellorsville, south of the Rappahannock. On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of May battles were fought. Prior to these engagements Lee divided his army before a force more than double his own and sent Jackson with the greater part to attack Hooker's right flank and rear. The movement was highly successful for the Confederates; but the victory cost them the services of "Stonewall" Jackson, as that noted leader fell mortally wounded by the fire of his own men, who mistook him and those with him for an opposing force.

Battle of
Chancellors-
ville, May
1-3

Death of
Jackson

223. Lee's Second Northward Movement, 1863.—After the victory of Chancellorsville, Lee again led the Army of Northern Virginia northward. Although the movement was conducted as secretly as possible, it was soon reported to General Hooker, who sent forward a strong cavalry and infantry force. These were repulsed by the Confederates under Stuart in one of the severest cavalry engagements of the war. In the meantime, General Milroy and the Federal forces were being driven from the Valley of Virginia by the Confederate General Ewell.¹

Cavalry bat-
tle of Fleet-
wood or
Brandy Sta-
tion, June 9

The Army of the Potomac moved northward on the east side of the Blue Ridge with General George G. Meade in command in place of Hooker. It was Lee's plan to gain control of several of the Pennsylvania cities, and to threaten Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, preparing, in addition, to engage the Federal army wherever it should be met. In order

Meade
replaces
Hooker

¹ On June 12 Ewell captured Winchester with 4000 prisoners and 29 guns.

to be informed of the Federal movements, he had instructed the cavalry under General Stuart to keep to his right as the army moved north. Stuart, however, rode to the eastward of the Federal army, became temporarily cut off from communication with Lee and did not join the main army

Stuart's second ride around Federal army

until the second day at Gettysburg. In consequence of this, the Confederate leader was not kept informed of the movements of Meade, and in the latter part of June he found himself in close proximity to the Federal army much sooner than he had expected. In fact, both armies were ignorant of the near approach of the other in southern Pennsylvania.



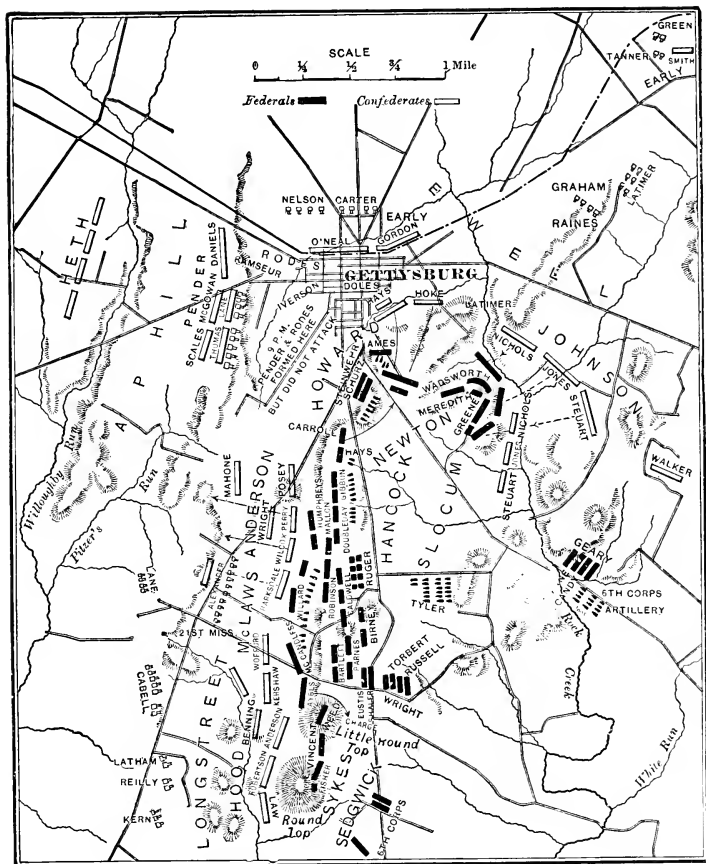
THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON

Born Clarksburg, Va. (W. Va.), Jan. 21, 1824. Walked much of the distance from western Virginia to Washington to secure appointment to United States Military Academy; was graduated in class with McClellan 1846; received rapid promotion for unusual services in Mexican War; instructor of military tactics in Virginia Military Institute 1851-1861; distinguished for steady courage at first Bull Run; became famous after "Valley Campaign" of 1862 in independent command; later associated with Lee in greater battles of war until death at Chancellorsville in 1863.

A skirmish was first brought on by the meeting in Gettysburg of a Confederate brigade and a portion of the Federal army. This was on the 30th of June. Immediately both commanders made hurried efforts to advance and concentrate their forces. Early in the afternoon of July 1, Lee's advance columns attacked the Federal cavalry and infantry at Gettysburg. Severe fighting took place, in which the Confederates were at first driven back with heavy losses. In the latter part of the afternoon, however, they were reinforced, and after desperate fighting the Federals were in turn defeated and forced back. The Confederate advance was then stopped by order of General Ewell, and both armies began to occupy opposing heights or ridges, the Federals occupying Cemetery Hill and the Confederates, Seminary Ridge.

First day at Gettysburg, July 1, 1863

It was the intention of General Lee to renew the battle early in the morning of July 2, but owing to the slowness of General



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

Longstreet, the attack was not renewed until the afternoon. On the Federal side Sedgwick had made one of the greatest forced marches of the war, he and his corps having covered thirty-four miles during the night and morning to get into position for the fighting of the second day. On the other hand, in spite of Longstreet's tardiness of attack, the Confederate

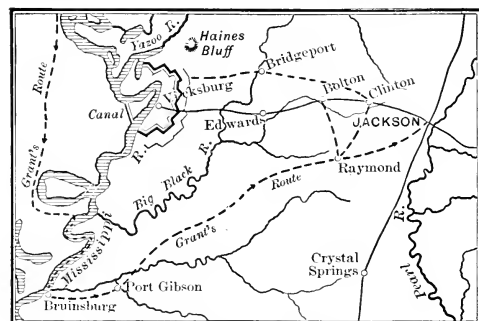
Second day:
Sedgwick's
great march

assault, when finally made, was so fierce that the Federal troops were driven back for a time with great slaughter. The latter were heavily reinforced, however, and the Confederate right wing was held in check with a loss, at the close of the day, of some portion of the ground that it had gained.

On July 3, as on the previous day, it was Lee's intention to make an attack early in the morning, but, Longstreet again

Third day failed to attack until the afternoon. In the meantime,

General Meade had strengthened his entrenchments and had been reinforced by all the troops within reach, while Ewell, on the Confederate left, was being driven back from



GRANT'S VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

Culp's Hill. Early in the afternoon, while the cannonading of the entire available artillery of the two armies seemed to shake the earth, a force of 14,000 Confederates charged the Federal position on Cemetery Hill, and though their ranks were swept by the

most terrific fire any attacking force had yet encountered during the war, they seized and held for a space of twenty minutes the centre of the Federal lines. They were, however, compelled to withdraw after terrible losses, and thus ended the fighting of the three days' battle of Gettysburg. Both armies acquitted themselves with glory, and while Gettysburg itself is properly called a drawn engagement, the final withdrawal of the Confederates on the fourth day rendered the conflict, in its effect, at least, a Federal victory.

The Union losses in this great battle have been estimated at 23,000 men, while the Confederate loss was somewhat smaller, or about 20,400. The Federal army numbered 90,000 to 100,000

Lee withdraws from the North

Charge of Pickett and Pettigrew

men, and the Confederate strength between 62,000 and 75,000. No further engagements occurred between the eastern armies during the remainder of the year, and the battle of Gettysburg has been said to mark the high tide of Confederate fortunes.

224. Conditions in the North.—Lee's withdrawal from the North relieved a serious political tension in that section, where the war had become, in some of the States, increasingly unpopular because of its long continuance and on account of the forced drafts made by the Federal government to fill the ranks of the Union armies. In July the fiercest riots ever known in this country had occurred in New York City. It was estimated that over 1000 persons were killed during four days' fighting between citizens on the one side, and militia, Federal troops, and police on the other.³

Although the Federal currency or greenbacks had depreciated in value, business in the North was extremely active, and great fortunes were being accumulated. National banks were established as a Federal measure of finance, carrying out a policy somewhat similar to that of Hamilton, and renewed by the Democratic-Republican party subsequent to the war of 1812.

225. Campaigns in the West, 1863.—In the west, after a siege which had lasted more than five months, General Grant finally took possession of Vicksburg, the strongest Confederate post on the Mississippi River. This surrender took place on the 4th of July, 1863, and was brought about largely by the efficient aid rendered the land forces by Admiral Porter and his fleet of gunboats and transports.

A few days later Port Hudson, the last of the Confederate forts along the Mississippi River, surrendered to General Banks, who was effectively assisted by the Federal fleet under Farragut. The Confederacy was now cut in two, and supplies from the southwest were shut off, causing even greater

³ Negroes especially were objects for attack by the mob. A number were beaten and others were hanged.

suffering than had before existed. In the west the summer months of 1863 witnessed some of the most daring cavalry raids and

exploits of the war. Confederate cavalry under Generals Forrest and Wheeler rode through western Tennessee up to Fort Donelson, while Generals Forrest and Van Dorn captured a Federal detachment of 1300 men near Franklin. A Federal cavalry force of from 1500 to 2000, under Colonel A. D. Streight, set out from Rosecrans' army to destroy factories, mills, and supplies, and to cut Bragg's railroad communications in Georgia. With about 1000 Confederate troops, Forrest set out in the most prolonged pursuit and fiercest running en-

Confederate and Federal cavalry operations in the west, 1863



W. S. ROSECRANS

Born Kingston, O., Sept. 6, 1819. Was graduated at West Point, 1842; resigned U. S. army 1854; entered War of Secession in volunteer service; served prominently in western campaigns until after Chickamauga; transferred to Department of the Missouri; represented California in Congress 1881-1885; register U. S. Treasury, 1885-1893. Died 1898.

gagement of the war. Streight and his men were finally compelled to surrender when not far from Rome, their objective point. In July, General John H. Morgan led a force of 2400 Confederate cavalry on a raid through Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, to cut Rosecrans' communications and to destroy railroads, mills, and factories. Morgan and nearly all his men were finally cut off and captured.⁴

Fierce fighting on a larger scale was now transferred to eastern



BRAXTON BRAGG

Born Warren County, N. C., March 22, 1817. Graduate of West Point, 1837; served with distinction under Taylor in Mexican War; saw important service in command of Confederate forces in the west; won his greatest success on battlefield of Chickamauga; after the war, was chief engineer of State of Alabama. Died 1876.

⁴ Morgan was confined in the Ohio Penitentiary at Columbus, but escaped. Streight was sent to Libby Prison in Virginia. He also succeeded in escaping. During Streight's raid, a sixteen-year-old girl led Forrest to the ford by which he was enabled to overtake and capture Streight. She fearlessly rode behind Forrest when both were under a sharp Federal fire.

Tennessee and neighboring States. In September Rosecrans took possession of Chattanooga, which was considered the military key to that section of the country. From Chattanooga Rosecrans set out to pursue General Bragg, but the latter, reinforced by Longstreet's corps from Lee's army, attacked Rosecrans on the 19th and 20th of September. The Federal right wing was shattered, but the remainder of the army was saved by the courage and ability of General Thomas, who, like "Stonewall" Jackson at the battle of Bull Run, stood his ground, and who was likewise given a special title of recognition, being known thereafter as the "Rock of Chickamauga." Thomas was, however, forced

Battle of
Chickamauga,
Sept. 19-
20, 1863

to withdraw after nightfall of the 20th. The battle of Chickamauga, which took place on the 19th and 20th of September, has been referred to by recent historians as, in its ratio of losses, the bloodiest great battle of modern history, just as Sharpsburg or Antietam presented the bloodiest single day's fighting in modern times. After the battle of Chickamauga, Rosecrans was superseded by Thomas in the command of the Army of the Cumberland, and Sherman was made commander of the Army of the Tennessee, the two armies being united in one military department under General Grant.

Grant now carried out skilful movements to relieve Rosecrans' army, which was besieged by Bragg in Chattanooga. The latter was com-

Battles of
Lookout
Mountain
and Mission-
ary Ridge,
Nov. 24-25,
1863

pelled to detach Longstreet from his command in order to oppose Burnside, who had taken Knoxville, and was advancing upon Chattanooga. In this division of the Confederate forces, Grant saw his opportunity and on November 24 attacked Bragg's left wing on Lookout Mountain. The attack was led by Hooker and a



GEORGE H. THOMAS

Born Southampton Co., Va., July 31, 1816. Graduate of West Point, 1840; served with credit in Mexican War, receiving promotions for meritorious conduct under Taylor, appointed brigadier-general United States Volunteers in 1861; won first notable Union victory in the west at Mill Springs, January, 1862; gained distinction in many other engagements; earned the sobriquet of the "Rock of Chickamauga" in the battle of that name; decisively defeated Hood at Nashville, December, 1864, the last great battle in the west. Died 1870.

part of the Army of the Potomac sent west to retrieve the disaster at Chickamauga. Hooker was successful in his assault and Lookout Mountain was won by the Federal forces. The following day Thomas and Sherman assaulted the Confederate right on Missionary Ridge, where they were equally successful, causing Bragg to retreat into Georgia, and forcing Longstreet to withdraw before the combined forces of Burnside and Sherman. This ended the serious fighting of the year.⁵



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EXPLOSION OF A SHELL IN FORT SUMTER DURING THE CONFEDERATE DEFENSE OF CHARLESTON HARBOR—A PICTURE SHOWING THE DESTRUCTION OF WAR

226. Summary of the Year.—Although the Battle of Gettysburg, followed immediately by the fall of Vicksburg, marked a turn in Confederate fortunes, there existed in the South an unabated determination to continue the struggle; while as indicative of the feeling of uncertainty in the North, the lowest point in the

⁵ During the greater part of 1863 determined and repeated assaults were made upon the fortifications of Charleston, and despite the fact that Fort Sumter was laid in ruins, a garrison managed to hold it against attack. The Federal fleet bombarded the city, but could not capture it. Commodore Ingraham, the hero of the Martin Koszta affair (see p. 202), succeeded in fitting out small gunboats, with which he made successful sorties upon the blockading fleet. His craft proved unseaworthy and the blockade was not permanently broken.

depreciation of Federal currency was not reached until the following year. Henceforth, however, the armies of the South were to fight on the defensive, while the Federal forces were slowly but surely to close in upon Confederate territory.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. That a trivial incident may bring on a great engagement was well illustrated in the battle of Gettysburg. The immediate cause of the battle at that point was the desire of the half-clad Confederate soldiers to secure shoes. These they hoped to obtain in quantity at Gettysburg and marched thither to get them. Here they met the Federal advance, and contrary to the plans of both commanders, the final clash of arms occurred at this point.

2. The charge of the Confederates under Pickett and Pettigrew has become immortal in history; but the forced night march of the Federal Fifth Corps under Sedgwick must be remembered with it as one of the most important movements, or perhaps the turning point, of one of the world's decisive battles.

3. Follow the movements of Farragut, U. S. N., and of Forrest, C. S. A. Farragut was trained in the service from boyhood (see p. 250). Theodore Roosevelt said of him that he was "the greatest admiral since Nelson." Forrest was the son of a blacksmith, but he proved himself a born soldier and rose by sheer ability. Lord Wolseley said of this commander: "It would be difficult in all history to find a more varied career than his—a man who . . . by sheer force of character alone, became a great fighting leader of fighting men."

CHAPTER XXXI

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1861-1865; THE WAR OF SECESSION—CAMPAIGNS OF 1864

227. Military Operations in the West, 1864.—Early in February Sherman marched from Vicksburg to Meridian, Mississippi, where he destroyed much railroad property. On February 22 however, Sherman's cavalry were defeated by General Forrest at Okolona, and Sherman was compelled to return to Vicksburg. Forrest now marched into Tennessee and Kentucky and captured Fort Pillow on the Mississippi River. At the same time Federal armies under General Banks and General Steele were ordered to move northward from Louisiana and southward from Arkansas to gain complete control of the southwest. Before these armies could unite, however, a Confederate force under General Richard Taylor defeated Banks near Mansfield on April 8, renewing the attack on the next day at Pleasant Hill, whereupon Banks retreated to southern Louisiana. Another Confederate force under General E. Kirby Smith met Steele in two battles at Mark's Mill and at Jenkins' Ferry in the latter part of April and compelled the Federal commander to withdraw.¹

228. Grant's Campaign in the East, 1864.—In March Grant was called from his successful operations in the west and was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Federal forces with the title of Lieutenant-General. He in person took command of the Army of the Potomac, with the determination to crush Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, then in camp south of the Rapidan River.²

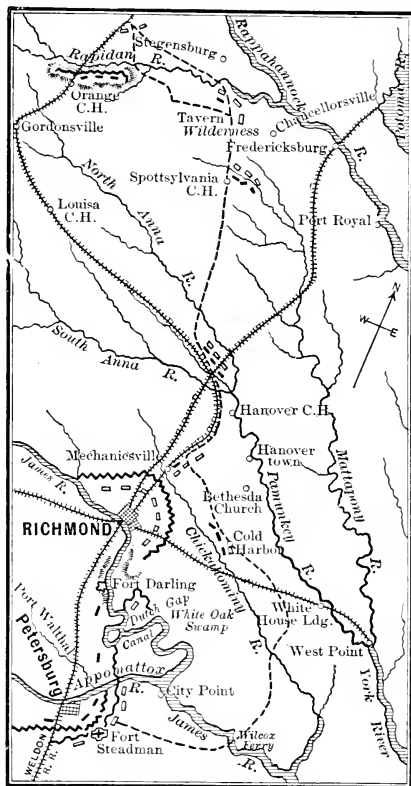
¹ A minor campaign in Florida ended in the battle of Olustee on February 20, when the Confederates defeated an invading Federal force in that State.

² At the same time, Grant gave instructions to Sherman, in command of an army of 112,000 men in the west, so to press General Joseph E. Johnston that neither Lee nor Johnston could send reinforcements to the other. General Banks was also ordered to proceed from New Orleans against Mobile.

Grant summoned Sheridan from the west and placed him in command of the Federal cavalry. One army under General Franz Sigel held the lower Shenandoah Valley with the intention of breaking Lee's communication with the west, while General B. F. Butler was to move up the James River from Fortress Monroe. Grant himself relied upon an army of 122,000 men to advance overland through the Wilderness to attack Lee with 62,000. He accordingly crossed the Rapidan River, and early in May opened the campaign. On May 5 and 6

Fighting in
the Wilder-
ness, May
6

there was fierce fighting in the Wilderness, resulting from Grant's effort to outflank Lee and to move upon Richmond. The Federal losses amounted to 18,000 men and the army seemed in imminent danger of serious defeat; but, fortunately for Grant, the Confederate charge on May 6 was halted upon the wounding of General Longstreet, who was pressing the Confederate advance. This delay gave Grant opportunity to reform his forces behind formidable breastworks.



GRANT'S CAMPAIGN: WILDERNESS TO PETERSBURG

A few days later, Grant again tried to pass around Lee's right in the neighborhood of Spotsylvania Court House; but Lee had arrived there before him. Powerful efforts were made on May 10, 12, and 18 to break the Confederate lines,

and although the Confederate army was several times in great danger of being swept away, its lines were as often reformed, and Grant's purpose was foiled. Again, however, the Confederacy paid a heavy price for victory with the loss of another one of its great commanders, when on May 11 General J. E. B. Stuart was mortally wounded.³

Some weeks of maneuvering followed these encounters until both armies were near the place where two years before McClellan

had been defeated on the banks of the Chickahominy. Here at Cold Harbor, on the 1st and 3rd of June, Grant

Cold Harbor
June 1, 3

again attacked Lee, but was repulsed with the loss of 10,000 in killed and wounded. Having failed in his plans of approaching Richmond from the north; Grant now found himself on the east side of the Confederate capital. He therefore determined to cross the James River, and to approach Richmond from the south by way of Petersburg.

While the mighty struggle was going on between Grant and Lee, General B. F. Butler's army of 40,000 had been defeated by General Beauregard on May 16.

Butler defeated by
Beauregard
May 16

In the Valley of Virginia, General Hunter had cut a wide swath of desolation with fire and sword. General Jubal A. Early,

however, with a division from Lee's army, entered the Valley and forced Hunter to withdraw. Lee now gave orders to General Early, as he had before ordered General Jackson, to advance upon



J. E. B. STUART

Born Patrick County, Va., Feb. 6, 1833. Was graduated at West Point, 1854; commanded Confederate cavalry early in the War of Secession and became widely known as a daring cavalry officer, on several occasions riding around the Federal army; mortally wounded at Yellow Tavern, Va. Died May 12, 1864.

³ Stuart was wounded at Yellow Tavern, not far from Richmond, whither he had gone to check a formidable Federal cavalry advance upon the Confederate capital. In a somewhat similar manner the gallant General John Sedgwick, who had made the rapid march to the relief of Meade at Gettysburg, was killed May 9, two days before the fall of the noted Confederate cavalry leader.

Washington, with the same idea of causing a part of the Federal force in front of himself to be withdrawn for the defense of the Federal capital. General Early, therefore, crossed into Maryland, defeated General Lew Wallace at the Monocacy River, and appeared before the fortifications of Washington. He had prepared to attack the city, but was forced to give up the undertaking on account of large Federal reinforcements. His movement, although causing President Lincoln to call for additional volunteers to defend the capital, did not serve the purpose of weakening the army of General Grant. Early was forced to withdraw from the neighborhood of Washington, but advanced into Pennsylvania as far as Chambersburg, in which town the Confederate commander, contrary to the precedent created by Lee in his previous invasion of the North, authorized destruction of property by way of retaliation for the terrible ravages of Hunter in the Shenandoah Valley.⁴

Early's campaign in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, 1864

General Grant determined that the Confederate forces in the Shenandoah Valley must be checked, and sent General Philip H. Sheridan with a strong army to drive them out, to destroy the crops, and further to lay waste the Valley. Near Winchester, on September 19, Sheridan defeated Early, and again at Fisher's Hill on the 21st.

Sheridan defeats Early, Sept. 19-21

While Sheridan was in Winchester on October 19, the Confederates surprised the Federal forces at Cedar Creek and defeated them; but in the afternoon of the same day Sheridan rode up, rallied his men and defeated the Confederates, who now retreated up the Valley. This last Confederate advance through the Valley of Virginia had produced no results of permanent value to the Confederacy. Grant's forces still lay in overwhelming numbers in front of Lee at Petersburg, and the subsequent loss of control of the Valley caused unparalleled

Sheridan gains control of the Valley of Virginia

⁴ It is said that over a score of Federal officers under Hunter refused to carry out his orders to burn dwelling houses and to deprive women and children of shelter and food. Similar instances of refusal or objection occurred in Sherman's more widely destructive campaign in Georgia and the Carolinas.

suffering both in that section and in the Army of Northern Virginia during the remainder of the war.

On July 30 the Federal forces at Petersburg exploded a mine under the Confederate fortifications, hoping immediately thereafter to break through before the Confederate troops could recover from the surprise. Although a great pit or crater was blown up in the Confederate lines with some loss of life and munitions of war, the Federal troops were repulsed and lost thousands of men in the midst of the crater they had made.

The "Battle of the Crater" ended the active fighting of Grant before Petersburg in 1864. The Federal general had failed in every attempt to crush Lee by frontal assault, and he had been equally unsuccessful in endeavoring to flank him. He now proposed to hold Petersburg in a state of siege and to extend his larger forces both to the right and to the left, in order to draw out Lee's diminishing numbers in a constantly expanding line of defense.

229. Sherman's Campaign in the West and the South, 1864.—In the west General Sherman had under his direction the Army of the Cumberland, the Army of the Tennessee, and the Army of the Ohio. He followed a policy similar to that adopted later by Grant against Lee in that he employed one large force, the Army of the Cumberland, to press Johnston in front, while he used other forces to outflank the Confederates and to get in their rear.

Sherman assaulted the Confederate lines at Dalton, Georgia, on May 8 and 9 without success, after which he turned the flank and threatened the rear of Johnston in the neighborhood of Resaca. This movement compelled Johnston to fall back to that point, where further severe fighting took place without definite result, until Sherman again outflanked Johnston and approached the latter's rear. In every case where Sherman's superior forces were able to outflank the Confederates, Johnston retired. In the battle of Kenesaw Mountain on June 27, Sherman assaulted Johnston's position, but was repulsed with severe losses. During this campaign the Con-

Battle of
the Crater,
July 30, 1864

Grant changes
his plan
from assault
to siege

Fighting at
Dalton, Res-
aca, and
Kenesaw
Mountain
May and
June, 1864

federate "warrior bishop," General Leonidas Polk, was killed.⁵

Unsuccessful in frontal attacks, Sherman resumed flanking tactics, and Johnston was compelled to retire to Atlanta, which he fortified in the hope of holding it and checking Sherman's advance. At this time, however, he was displaced by General John B. Hood. The latter adopted an aggressive policy instead of following Johnston's plan of drawing Sherman still farther away from his base of supplies.

Hood, however, was no match for Sherman. He was unable to stop the Federal advance, and Atlanta was captured.

northward with the hope of drawing Sherman after him, but the latter did not follow, because he felt confident that General Thomas was able to cope with the Confederate leader and to meet him with an equal or superior force in Tennessee. Sherman's judgment proved correct, for

after the stubbornly fought but indecisive battle of Franklin on November 30, between Hood's army and a Federal force under General Schofield, Thomas joined Schofield, and together they defeated

Hood on December 15 and 16 in the battle of Nashville, after which the shattered Confederate army retreated to Tupelo in Mississippi. When the news of this irreparable Confederate disaster reached Richmond, Lee had been made commander-in-chief of all the Confederate forces, and Johnston was restored by him to the command of the remnant of the southern army.

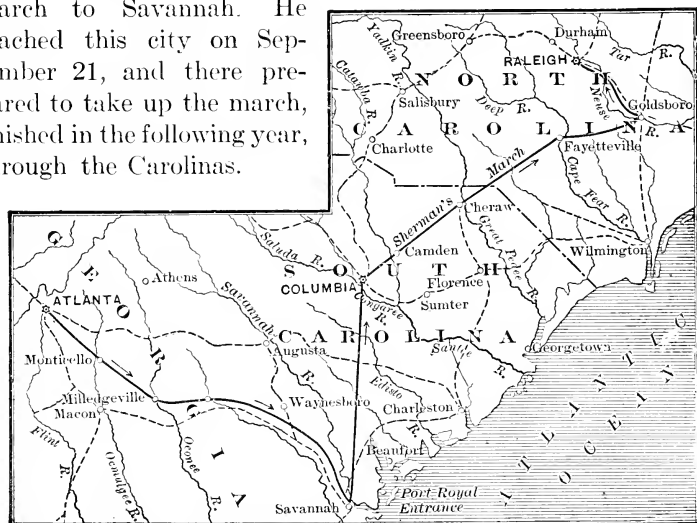


WILLIAM T. SHERMAN

Born Lancaster, O., February 8, 1820. Graduate of West Point, 1840; resigned from service, 1850; practised law in Leavenworth, Kan.; superintendent of Military Academy in Louisiana; returned north and was appointed Colonel, U. S. A., prior to battle of Bull Run; afterwards served with distinction in the west, and was rapidly promoted; appointed brigadier-general, 1863; in 1864-1865 marched through centre of Confederacy from the northwest to the sea and to North Carolina, where he received the surrender of General Jos. E. Johnston, April 18, 1865. Died 1891.

⁵ Before taking a clergyman's orders, Polk was graduated at West Point; and in 1857 he founded the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee.

Hood's advance into Tennessee had left Sherman without opposition in Georgia, except for a small force of cavalry under General Joseph Wheeler and some Georgia militia. Sherman now determined to lead his army from Atlanta to the sea. After destroying the greater portion of Atlanta, he began an almost unimpeded march to Savannah. He reached this city on September 21, and there prepared to take up the march, finished in the following year, through the Carolinas.



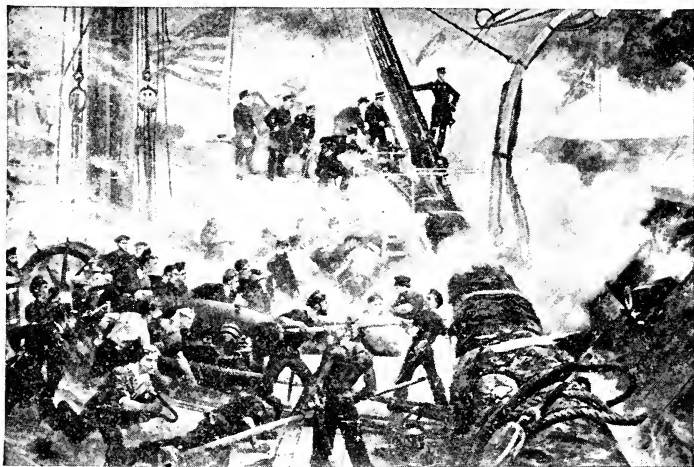
SHERMAN'S MARCH, ATLANTA TO RALEIGH

230. Naval Operations.—In August, 1864, Admiral Farragut repeated the tactics which had been so successful at New Orleans in 1862. He ran past the forts of Mobile harbor and defeated a small Confederate fleet. He was not, however, as in the case of New Orleans, able to capture the city.

Southern officers who resigned their commands of Federal battleships prior to the breaking out of the war first turned over the ships to the Federal government. Consequently, the Southern States went into the conflict without a navy. Nevertheless, the Confederate government set to work to fit out such vessels as it could, and to make arrangements in foreign countries for the

construction of others. The most famous of these Confederate commanders was Captain (later Rear-Admiral) Raphael Semmes, who first commanded the *Sumter*, constructed in the South; and later the *Alabama*, built at Liverpool, England. The latter, under either sail or steam, terrorized the merchant marine of the United States in every water route known to trade. As the Confederates were unable to take their prizes into neutral ports for adjudication, the *Alabama*

Semmes and
the Confed-
erate steam-
er, *Alabama*



DAVID G. FARRAGUT COMMANDING HIS FLAGSHIP IN ACTION

was compelled to burn them at sea, and this single vessel during the two years of its career almost destroyed the Atlantic commerce of the United States. After sinking the United States cruiser *Hatteras*, off Galveston, it was itself sunk off the coast of France by the United States warship *Kearsarge*.⁶

⁶ Both were wooden vessels, but Captain Winslow of the *Kearsarge* had protected the more vulnerable portions of his ship by iron chains skilfully concealed by planks.

The Confederate cruiser *Shenandoah* also had a remarkable career, continuing its operations in the Pacific long after the surrender at Appomattox. When it learned of the fall of the Confederacy, it directed its course to European waters and furled the last Confederate flag as late as November 6, 1865.

In 1864, the six-year term of the Confederate President not having expired, there were no elections in the South. In the North, however, President Lincoln was renominated by the Republicans, with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as their candidate for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated General George B. McClellan of New Jersey and George H.



N. B. FORREST

Born Bedford County, Tenn., July 13, 1821. Education neglected while supporting a widowed mother; succeeded in business in Memphis and later as a planter; entered Confederate service as private in 1861; later raised and led a cavalry regiment; refused to surrender with his superior officers at Fort Donelson and cut his way out; rose rapidly to rank of major-general and, later, lieutenant-general; almost uniformly successful as cavalry leader with natural gift for war; during his career captured 31,000 prisoners; surrendered to General Wilson, May 9, 1865. Died 1877.

Pendleton of Ohio. The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for Lincoln and Johnson. In the same year Nevada was admitted to the Union as the thirty-sixth State.

Summary.—The year ended with the Confederacy cut in two along the line of the Mississippi, and the eastern half in turn divided by Sherman's operations. The defeat of Hood by Thomas in Tennessee had well nigh destroyed effective opposition to Federal arms in the west, except by small but active forces of infantry and cavalry under Generals Richard Taylor, E. Kirby Smith, and N. B. Forrest. Lee's army at Petersburg, confronted by a determined opponent, was daily depleted by battle, disease, and inability to maintain its normal strength on insufficient food and clothing. The extremely limited transportation facilities of the South had almost wholly given out, and materials for repairs could not be had. Consequently, neither its armies in the field nor the prisoners in the various camps could be properly fed. Moreover, the non-

combatant population in the wake of the invading armies was destitute. Grant was well aware of these conditions and relied upon them as much as upon the courage and ability of his troops to effect the ultimate downfall of the Confederacy.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. In the War of 1812 American boys played a part in naval combats (see *Sidelights and Suggestions*, Chapter XVIII). The War of Secession, however, presents the only instance in modern history where a battalion of boys, for the most part ranging in age from 14 to 17, was called upon to take an equal part in battle with veterans and against veterans in a military campaign. The boys were cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, and the campaign in which they figured was that against General Franz Sigel, who was endeavoring, in 1864, to cut off Lee's communications in the Valley of Virginia. In the battle of New Market on May 15, these cadets were called upon to take a prominent part in a charge against a particularly effective Federal battery on the crest of a hill opposite the Confederate lines. One-fifth of the cadets fell on the field of battle killed or wounded, but their line never wavered. Advancing as if on dress parade, they captured a part of the battery and did their full share in driving back the Federal army toward Winchester. Two future United States Senators participated in this battle. One of these, Colonel Henry A. DuPont, of Delaware, had but recently been graduated at the head of his class at West Point; he was in command of a battery of artillery which arrested the Confederate advance toward the close of the battle and covered the Federal retreat.⁷ The other was Charles J. Faulkner, afterwards Senator from West Virginia, a cadet in the Institute battalion.

2. General Lew Wallace, in command of the Federal forces at Monocacy in Maryland (Sec. 228) became, later, the author of the famous story "Ben Hur."

3. A mention of authorship in this connection brings to mind that the War of Secession was the fruitful theme of a great deal of poetry. "My Maryland" by James R. Randall, adapted to the German "Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum," is now become a nationally popular air. Julia Ward Howe composed the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." T. B. Read wrote the popular verses entitled "Sheridan's Ride." Whittier (see p. 264) wrote "Barbara Fritchie," an attractive poem descriptive of an incident which is wholly fictitious, but which Whittier believed at the time to be founded on fact. Other poets who wrote of war times or who fought in the ranks and gained their fame from later verses are: Sidney Lanier, Paul Hamilton Hayne, E. C. Stedman, Will Henry Thomson, Henry Timrod, Walt Whitman.

⁷ One of the best descriptions of their charge is that by Captain Franklin E. Town, Chief Signal Officer of Sigel's army, who witnessed the charge. Part of this account is quoted in "The New Market Campaign" by E. R. Turner (University of Michigan). Another account is given by John S. Wise (one of the Virginia cadets) in "The Battle of New Market." Earlier descriptions may be found in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," Vol. IV.

CHAPTER XXXII

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1861-1865; THE WAR OF SECESSION—CAMPAIGNS OF 1865—END OF THE WAR

231. Sherman's Advance, 1865.—On February 7, Sherman began the second part of his march to the sea, from Savannah to Charleston, during which he inflicted upon South Carolina widespread destruction of property. Columbia was laid in ashes, and, on February 17, Charleston was evacuated by the Confederates.



SIDNEY LANIER

Born Macon, Ga., February 3, 1842. Educated Oglethorpe College; served as private in Confederate army; member Peabody orchestra, Baltimore; lecturer on English literature at Johns Hopkins University; adapted several historical works for the young; noted for the melody and sweetness of poems on nature. Died North Carolina, 1881.

Johnston had now replaced Hood in command of the forces gathered to oppose Sherman in his march northward from Charleston. Early in the spring several days' fighting occurred in the neighborhood of Bentonville, N. C., where Sherman's progress was temporarily checked. Johnston, however, was finally compelled to retreat, and less than 200 miles separated the armies of Sherman in North Carolina and Grant in Virginia. In addition, a Federal army from the west under General Schofield occupied Wilmington, while still another force under General Cox was marching from New Berne to meet Sherman at Goldsboro.

Battle of
Bentonville;
advance of
Schofield
and Cox

232. Lee Appointed Confederate Commander-in-chief.—The situation of the Confederacy was now desperate. The plan of Lee, who in February had been made commander-in-chief of all the Confederate forces, was to withdraw his army from the neighborhood of Petersburg and Richmond before it was cut off

by the overwhelming force of Grant. This he had intended doing earlier in the winter, but, because of the scarcity of forage, the enfeebled horses could not draw the baggage trains and munitions of war. Moreover, his soldiers had suffered so greatly from lack of clothing, food, and medicine, that thousands of them were incapacitated for active service. The winter had been a severe one and the Confederate army had passed through privations and sufferings such as no other large body of American soldiers had ever been called upon to endure, while all the time their lines had to be extended to meet the constant flanking movements of the Federal forces.¹

233. Close of the War, 1865.—As Lee was unable to move his army on account of the condition of his men and horses and the bad state of the roads, he planned a desperate movement to break through the lines of Grant in his front. On the night of March 25, General John B. Gordon was directed

to make an attack upon Fort Stedman within the Federal lines. Fort Stedman was captured, but, owing partly to confusion and loss of direction, the Confederates were unable to hold the position, and were driven back after suffering severe losses.

In consideration of Sherman's rapid prog-

Remarkable
devotion of
Lee's army



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN

Born Albany, N. Y., March 6, 1831. Was graduated at West Point, 1853; saw first active service of War of Secession in Missouri; received promotions and was appointed major-general of volunteers, 1862; until 1864, served with distinction in the great campaigns of the west; transferred to the east in 1864; appointed a brigadier-general in regular army, later major-general; was prominent in driving the Confederate general Early from Valley of Virginia, which he then laid waste; appointed Commander of the Fifth Military District in the South after the war. Died 1888.

¹ During this winter General Lee was forced on some occasions to dine on parched corn only, which, it is said, he was compelled to take from his famous horse, Traveller. Many of the men were barefooted, and wherever they moved they left blood-stained tracks on the frozen ground. Medicines were rendered scarcer throughout the South than they otherwise would have been by reason of an order on the part of the Federal government to treat medical supplies as contraband of war.

gress northward through the Carolinas, Grant determined to assume the aggressive before Lee could seize an opportunity

Lee's lines
broken in
Battle of
Five Forks,
March 29

to attack or to retire. Accordingly, with Sheridan in advance, he moved upon Lee on the 29th of March at Five Forks, where Sheridan broke Lee's

line of defense and carried by assault the Confederate en-

trenchments at Petersburg. Both Peters-

burg and Richmond were evacu-

ated on the night of the 2nd of

April, and the latter city was

Petersburg
and Rich-
mond evacu-
ated

partly destroyed by fire brought on by the

burning of public stores to prevent them

from falling into the hands of the Federal

troops.² Lee concluded to make a retreat

by the way of the Danville railroad and to

effect a junction with Johnston in North

Carolina. His soldiers, however, were with-

out food and he was compelled to wait for

supplies. This delay gave the Federals oppor-

tunity to throw a large force in his path.

The Federal troops pressed the Confederates

with vigor, but at Farmville the remnant of

the Army of Northern Virginia turned upon

their pursuers and for a time drove them back

in a last desperate display of unavailing valor.

This final success, however, resulted in

the loss of another day in the effort to join

Johnston. The Confederate army had been

reduced to a few thousand half-famished men, of whom a number

were too weak to carry arms. Concluding, therefore, that further

fighting would involve a useless sacrifice of life, or else the irregular

and prolonged warfare of small bands of troops, Lee determined

upon surrender. In consequence of this decision, the Confederate



JOS. E. JOHNSTON

Born Prince Edward County, Va., February 7, 1807. Graduate of West Point, 1829; served with distinction in several Indian wars and under Scott in Mexican campaign; was general of Confederate forces in the East until wounded in campaign against McClellan in 1862; afterwards transferred to the West; was fighting and conducting strategic retreat before the superior forces of Sherman in 1864 when removed from command; restored to command by Lee in February, 1865; surrendered to Sherman in North Carolina, April 26. Died 1891.

² The Federal troops entering the city did everything possible to prevent the spread of the fire.

leader, on April 9, met General Grant at Appomattox Court House, where the terms of surrender were formally arranged. The condi-

Surrender of Lee's army,
April 9, 1865

tions named by Grant were generous and reflected great credit upon the mind and heart of the victor. Officers and men were paroled and given permission to depart for their homes, and to take with them their side arms and horses. The half-starved Confederates were given food from the Federal supply wagons, and General Grant did not permit his troops to celebrate their triumph in the face of their vanquished fellow-Americans. Hence, after four years of fierce fighting and arduous service, Lee's great Army of Northern Virginia was disbanded; through their silent ranks their commander rode to Richmond; and the war was practically ended. Seventeen days later Johnston surrendered to Sherman; Jefferson Davis was taken prisoner in Georgia on May 11; and General E. Kirby Smith surrendered the last considerable Confederate force at Baton Rouge on May 26.³



From photograph taken after the War of Secession; perhaps never before reproduced

Born Westmoreland County, Va., January 19, 1807. Was graduated second in class at West Point in 1829; served with marked distinction under Scott in War with Mexico, 1847; brevetted major at Cerro Gordo, lieutenant-colonel at Contreras, and colonel at Chapultepec; superintendent West Point, 1852-1855; at outbreak of War of Secession, declined command of Federal army and resigned to enter service of his State; appointed, 1862, to command Army of Northern Virginia; after the war became president of Washington College, Lexington, Va. Died October 12, 1870.

³ General Richard Taylor, who was a son of President Zachary Taylor, surrendered a Confederate army to General Canby in Alabama on May 8. The last engagement of the war occurred at Palmito Ranch, Tex., where a Confederate force defeated a body of Federal troops on May 13, 1865, the victors learning from their prisoners that the Southern Confederacy had fallen.

234. Thirteenth Amendment Passed by Congress, 1865.—In the meantime Congress had passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting slavery forever, and the amendment was presented to the State legislatures for ratification.⁴

235. Assassination of President Lincoln, April 14, 1865.—In the midst of the rejoicing at the North over the surrender of Lee, the entire country was horrified by the insane deed of an actor,



LAST FORMAL RECEPTION GIVEN AT THE WHITE HOUSE BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN

John Wilkes Booth, who, on the night of April 14, shot Abraham Lincoln soon after the President had entered Ford's theatre in Washington. President Lincoln died early the following morning, being the first President of the United States to suffer death at the hands of an assassin.

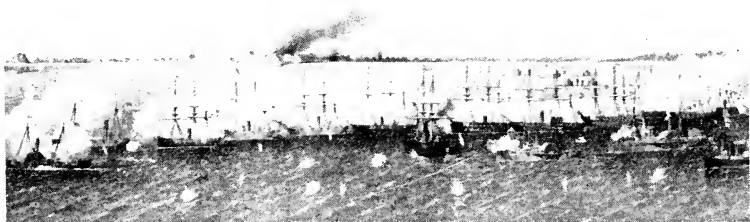
From the moment that the murderer of President Lincoln leaped from the stage of the theatre, he was hotly pursued, to-

⁴ Efforts had been made during the early part of February to bring about peace. President Lincoln and Secretary Seward met Vice-President Stephens of the Confederacy and others, for a conference on board a steamer at Fortress Monroe. The conference, however, bore no results.

gether with his several accomplices, one of whom had tried to kill Secretary Seward. On the 25th of April, nearly two weeks later, Booth was surrounded in a barn near Fredericksburg. Upon his refusal to surrender, he was shot. Other conspirators were captured and hanged.

President Lincoln was a man of southern birth and northern training, and had he been permitted to carry out his plans of reconciliation, the crimes and blunders of reconstruction in the South would not have been perpetrated. Lincoln had desired to preserve the Union, and after having accomplished that single purpose, he welcomed peace and the prompt

Lamentable
results of the
assassination



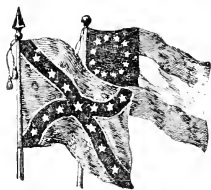
FINAL BOMBARDMENT OF FORT FISHER, JANUARY 15, 1865 FORT FISHER GUARDED WILMINGTON, N. C., THE LAST PORT OF THE CONFEDERACY ACCESSIBLE TO BLOCKADE RUNNERS

restoration of the southern States to their former status in the Union. He knew the high character of the southern people and he was convinced that they would accept the decision of the sword in good faith upon the laying down of their arms. As a result of his death, the southern States were to be declared out of the Union until the Radicals in Congress chose to re-admit them after a terrible era of misgovernment and oppression.

With regard to the emancipated negroes, Lincoln's desire had been to admit to political rights only the more intelligent; the rest he thought unfit for civic privileges. This policy of adaptation to new conditions would have had the approval of the best southern sentiment; for, except as an incident of the struggle, the

South had not contended for the perpetuation of slavery, while the final abolition of slavery freed the South from economic and political conditions that were injurious to its growth and prosperity.

236. Summary.—It is estimated that nearly 3,000,000 men were enlisted in this greatest war of modern times. 2,200,000 were in the Federal armies, and from 600,000 to 900,000 were engaged in the service of the Confederacy. Over half a million men on the Union side had died in battle or from disease, while



CONFEDERATE FLAGS

The flag on the left is known as the "Battle Flag" of the Confederacy; that on the right as the "Stars and Bars," the official emblem recommended in 1861 for the "Confederate States of America." Since the colors used were red, white, and blue, some changes were made in the latter flag in 1863 and in 1865 to avoid confusion with the United States flag. The thirteen stars represented the thirteen States claimed by the Confederacy.

about three hundred thousand Confederates had perished. The Union navy had grown from small beginnings to a total of 700 ships at the close of the war, including 75 iron-clads. Against these the Confederates had equipped 11 warships of varying strength and several small fleets of gunboats, which were used in defense of their harbors.

The money cost of the war to the United States government had run into billions of dollars, leaving the country with a heavy national debt. The Southern Confederacy had an estimated expenditure of nearly two billions of dollars, which does not include the immense destruction of property in that section, wrought chiefly by the armies of Sherman, Sheridan, and Hunter.

Although war cannot determine a question of right or the justice of one issue or another, the conflict did decide that the view of the Union entertained by Presidents Jackson and Lincoln was to prevail. The view, therefore, evolved by growth and new conditions, that the country was a unit, overcame the generally accepted view of the founders of the Union, that the Constitution was a compact from which the States could withdraw. Incidentally to settling the question of secession, the war ended forever the vexing question of slavery, which had differentiated the sections,

had made their pursuits and customs diverge, and had obscured in the minds of many the tremendous economic and political issues at stake.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. A former editor of the Boston *Herald* suggested that the preceding chapters on the War of Secession be entitled "Administrations of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis," and that the current of United States history be thereby represented as divided during the period of conflict, to unite again in 1865.

2. One of the most unhappy features of the war was the hardship of prison life on either side. Over fifty thousand men died in confinement or captivity during the war, the number of deaths being about equally divided between Northern and Southern prisons. This total is terrible to think about, and the causes have been explained at length and in great bitterness of spirit by the earlier writers on this subject. Two tributes from one side to the good offices and kindness of a single commandant on the other have, in later years, reflected credit on both. A Union officer confined amid the suffering thousands at Andersonville, Ga., has written a heartfelt testimonial to the humanity of the commander in charge. On the other hand, subscriptions were raised throughout the South to erect a memorial to Colonel Owen, Commandant at Camp Morton. This unique memorial was erected in 1913 at Indianapolis, largely through the efforts of Colonel S. A. Cunningham, a former prisoner at Camp Morton.

3. In a series of Oxford University lectures delivered in May, 1913, and in a Johns Hopkins University course in the following year, Charles Francis Adams emphasized and developed the significance of an economic and political theory very generally held in the lower South, to the effect that the interruption of the cotton supply for any considerable length of time, in case of secession, would compel foreign nations, particularly Great Britain, to intervene and recognize the seceding States. Such recognition would have virtually assured the independence of the Confederacy, since in that event the Federal government could not have maintained the blockade. Cotton would have gone out freely from southern ports in exchange for gold, munitions of war, and supplies of every description. This belief in the power of "King Cotton" was not without a basis in actual conditions.

The cutting off of the cotton supply consequent on the breaking out of hostilities in April, 1861, produced in the textile districts of Great Britain unprecedented distress among the thousands of operatives there. It so chanced, however, that there was an overproduction of manufactured cotton

goods during the three years previous to the war, and the world then had on hand a supply which could not be disposed of, sufficient, it was estimated, to meet the requirements of not less than three years. The manufacturers, therefore, welcomed an opportunity to rid themselves of this surplus and quietly opposed intervention in American affairs. Except, perhaps, this element, the sympathies of what were known as the "governing classes" of Great Britain were distinctly in favor of the Confederacy, and its successful establishment was confidently expected. On the other hand, the sympathies of the masses of the English people, influenced largely by the wide reading of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," were with the North, because of an underlying conviction that the war was being waged on the question of slavery. On the question of recognition or mediation the British Cabinet was divided in opinion; and, at one time (October, 1862), some action favorable to such a policy was seriously considered.

After careful investigation in 1913 and 1914 of original material either hitherto overlooked by or inaccessible to historians, Mr. Adams took the view that the deciding factor in determining the question involved lay in the outcome of the struggle carried on in the Lancashire manufacturing districts. Because of the exceptional conditions described above, the "Cotton King" of the South yielded ultimately to the superior force of the Sea-Power of the North.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JOHNSON, 1865-1869; CONFLICT WITH CONGRESS; BEGINNINGS OF RECONSTRUCTION

237. Views and Proposed Policies of President Johnson.—

Upon the death of President Lincoln, Andrew Johnson took the oath of office as President. Elected prior to the war as a Senator from Tennessee, he had refused to withdraw upon the secession of his State. He was now desirous of taking up, in a large measure, the policies of his predecessor. These policies had been based upon the speediest possible way to secure reconciliation of the South and the restoration of Federal authority with the least possible Federal interference in the States concerned.

Some steps had been taken by Lincoln toward reconstruction in the South. In December, 1863, he had issued a proclamation of amnesty to the majority of persons in the South who would swear loyalty to the Federal government. This was intended especially to apply to those portions of the South that had passed under Federal control. The proclamation had further stated that a State government might be established by the vote of one-tenth of the number of voters registered in 1860, but Congress was to determine the admission of Federal representatives from those States. President Lincoln had merely suggested extending the privilege of voting to some of the more intelligent negroes. Under this plan, governments were, by the close of the war, established in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee; but Congress had denied admission to their representatives.

In the meantime Congress had passed a reconstruction measure, known as the Wade-Davis bill, providing, among other things, for the complete abolition of slavery. This was opposed by Lincoln chiefly on the ground that Congress had no constitutional authority to interfere with slavery in the States. Congress, therefore, on February 1, 1865, passed the Thirteenth Amend-

ment to the Constitution, which, after the approval of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, abolished slavery by December 18 of the same year. This method of abolishing slavery had been endorsed by Lincoln. It was a victory for his policies, but in Congress there was a restless element of radical Republi-



ANDREW JOHNSON

Born Raleigh, N. C., December 29, 1808. Was a tailor by trade, but entered politics in Tennessee as ardent supporter of Andrew Jackson; was elected to State legislature in 1835 and in 1839; elected to Congress, 1843-1853; supported annexation of Texas and compromise of 1850; governor of Tennessee, 1853-1857; United States senator, 1857-1862; refused to go with State in secession; appointed military governor of Tennessee; elected Vice-President with Lincoln in 1864; succeeded to Presidency on death of latter, 1865; disagreed with Republican majority in Congress on Reconstruction measures, barely escaping removal from office. Died 1875.

cans who had begun to oppose the President. His plans had frequently been hampered by these men, and, in many cases, Lincoln had felt obliged to yield to or to compromise with them in order successfully to accomplish his larger purposes. Upon the death of Lincoln, the radical Republicans began to extol the dead President and at the same time to attack his policies.

On May 29 President Johnson issued a proclamation of amnesty and pardon to former Confederates, which, however, increased the list of those who, under the plan proposed by Lincoln had been excluded from its provisions. At the same time, Johnson appointed temporary governors to complete the reorganization of the seceding States. At first Johnson was inclined to be much harsher than Lincoln and was disposed to punish whom he termed the "leading traitors of the rebellion," although later he took practically the same stand as his predecessor.

President Johnson attempts to carry out Lincoln's policies

When Congress assembled in December, the southern States had formally withdrawn their ordinances of secession, had organized regular governments, and were preparing to resume their former position in the Union. The votes of some of them were also necessary to secure the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolish-

Thirteenth Amendment approved by the States

ing slavery, and already a sufficient number had ratified the amendment to make it a part of the Constitution.

238. General Plan of Congressional Reconstruction.—Congress, controlled by the radical Republicans, was not ready to accept Lincoln's or Johnson's policies, which seemed to them likely to turn the governments of the southern States over to an element politically opposed to the party in power. The majority, therefore, passed over the President's veto a number of measures intended to place the States under Republican domination: (1) by the disfranchisement of a large proportion of southern whites; (2) by granting the suffrage to all negroes regardless of the qualifications or limitations suggested by Lincoln; and (3) by declaring the southern States out of the Union until they should accept or ratify the terms laid down by Congress.

In April, 1866, Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill, which granted civil rights to the freed negroes. This bill provided also for the restoration of the vote to the citizens of the southern States, reserving, however, the right to exclude those who had participated "in rebellion or other crime." These provisions became a part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was then submitted to the State legislatures.

Tennessee ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, but the other southern States voted against it chiefly on the ground of its disfranchisement clause. Congress accordingly declared that Tennessee was admitted into the Union, and proposed to take over the governments of the remainder of the southern States. These were, therefore, divided into five military districts, each of which was placed under the control of a general of the United States army, who was given almost autocratic power. Under this military organization and control, reconstruction was carried on in accordance with the Congressional plan. The actual exercise of government was, as a rule, under the direction of unprincipled adventurers from the North, aided by a vicious element from the whites of the South. These

Negro citizenship and partial white disfranchisement

Southern States declared out of the Union

managed the negro vote, and directed it to their own purposes and profit. Subsequently, constitutional conventions were held and the requirements laid down by Congress were acceded to by the State legislatures of Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana; or they were declared by Congress to be ratified regardless of the returns, as in Alabama.



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS

Born near Crawfordsville, Ga., February 11, 1812. Leader of Whig party in Georgia; elected to Congress in 1843; opposed a threatened southern secession movement in 1850; advocated repeal of Missouri Compromise in same year; also advocated the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854; retired from Congress, 1859; opposed Secession in 1861, but went with his State; elected Vice-President of Confederacy; prisoner at Fort Warren after close of war and released on parole; returned to Congress after Reconstruction, 1877-1882; elected governor of Georgia, 1882. Died 1883.

In February, 1869, Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment, which declared that the "right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied ^{Fifteenth Amendment} or abridged . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment was ratified by the reconstructed legislatures of Texas, Mississippi, Virginia, and Georgia; and military rule came to an end in those States.

In the case of nearly all of the reconstruction measures then put into effect, a substantial majority in Congress was at odds with President Johnson. This majority attempted to deprive the ^{Tenure of Office Act, 1867} President of part of his power by the passage of the Tenure of Office Act, which forbade the President to remove any government official without the consent of the Senate. The President did not consider the Act constitutional. Disregarding its provisions, therefore, he suspended and later removed Secretary Stanton from office. The House of

Representatives now instituted proceedings before the Senate to impeach the President, alleging that he was guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors" in opposing Congress and through violation of the Tenure of Office Act. The trial lasted from March 30 to May 16, 1868, and resulted in the acquittal of the President, although but one

Congress attempts to remove the President from office

additional vote was needed to convict the chief Executive of the Republic and to remove him from office.

239. Foreign Affairs.—During the progress of the War of Secession, Napoleon III, Emperor of France, had, in coöperation with English and Spanish forces, entered upon a military campaign in Mexico for the collection of debts. The Spanish and the English withdrew, but Napoleon seized the opportunity to set up a monarchy in Mexico under Archduke Maximilian of Austria, who resigned his hereditary rights to become the Emperor of Mexico. After the close of the War of Secession, the United States government protested so vigorously against this European interference in the Americas that the French army was withdrawn from the support of the former Archduke. Maximilian was defeated and slain, and the previously existing form of government was restored.

In 1867 Secretary Seward negotiated a treaty with Russia by the terms of which the United States government purchased Alaska for the sum of \$7,200,000. Acquisition of Alaska. 1867

240. Elections of 1868.—In 1868 the Republicans nominated General Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana as their candidates for President and Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York and Francis P. Blair of Missouri. Grant and Colfax were elected by a large majority.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Chapter XXXIII cannot give more than a brief outline of the various phases of the Reconstruction era. At this period of United States history the legislative department of the Federal government dominated the executive and influenced the action of the judiciary; although the latter, by some of its decisions, checked the more radical tendencies of Congress toward concentrating in the Federal government many of the rights and prerogatives hitherto exercised without question by the States. In this way, the United States Supreme Court stood in the way of the efforts of the more radical Republicans to force Federal control of the elections and police regulations of the southern States, a control advocated on the ground that the freedmen

were either intimidated at the polls or were deprived of their newly granted rights and privileges.

2. During the struggle between Congress and President Johnson, the former provided for the calling of its own extra sessions, a function exercised by the Executive both before and since that time. The majority in control of Congress at this time feared the action of President Johnson during the summer of 1867; the thirty-ninth Congress, therefore, called the fortieth in extra session, beginning March 4 of that year.

3. Although twice "reorganized," Georgia was the last of the seceding States to receive final admission into the Union. This took place July 15, 1870, over five years after the close of the war. During reconstruction times in that State, Governor C. J. Jenkins, continuing in office under the Lincoln-Johnson plan, was, by military authority, ordered to approve the payment for convention expenses of a very large draft upon the State treasury. Governor Jenkins at once left the State, carrying with him the executive seal and \$400,000 in cash. Upon the restoration of normal conditions, the former governor returned the seal, while the money had been kept by him intact for the State. His unique act was afterwards gratefully recognized by the legislature of Georgia.

4. In May, 1867, after two years' imprisonment at Fortress Monroe, Jefferson Davis was released under bail and his proposed trial was never pressed by the government. His bail of \$100,000 was furnished by some of the northern men who had been the most bitterly opposed to him before and during the war. This act on their part was followed in 1874 by a southern Senator's eulogy on the personal qualities of Charles Sumner and marked the dawn of the time when each section began the better to understand and appreciate the other.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ADMINISTRATIONS OF ULYSSES S. GRANT, 1869-1877: CONDITIONS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES; INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION; CORRUPTION IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

241. Reconstruction in the South.—Under Congressional reconstruction in the South, conditions arose in that section which were even more ruinous than actual warfare. The government of the southern States was almost wholly in the hands of northern adventurers, called "carpetbaggers;" the southern allies of the former, known as "scalawags;" and the newly emancipated negroes.

In 1865 an organization called the Freedmen's Bureau had been formed for the protection of the negro. The purpose of this body as outlined by its founders was laudable and proper; but, from the beginning, the agents of the Bureau encouraged the negroes to look to it for support rather than to develop habits of industry and thrift under new conditions. Subsequently, the Bureau was directed by designing and corrupt politicians with the purpose of deluding and controlling the negro vote. Many of the negroes were initiated into an organization known as the Loyal League, which was intended to aid this corrupt and ignorant combination of whites and blacks in maintaining control of the government. Crimes of every kind were committed with impunity, and law-abiding white people, together with the better class of negroes, could get no redress from courts, judges, or jurors; since these were usually the creatures of vicious elements in possession of the machinery of the State governments.

After the close of the war, thousands of negroes had left the farms and crowded into the villages and cities, or about the encampments of the Federal troops. Many of them were given

The Freedmen's Bureau
and the Loyal League

portions of abandoned or confiscated lands. Others were supplied with provisions and clothing, while the majority were led to believe that the United States' government would furnish each negro family with "forty acres and a mule." The farms in those sections of the South

Vagrancy laws passed under the Lincoln-Johnson State governments



ULYSSES S. GRANT

Born Point Pleasant, O., April 27, 1822. Was graduated at West Point, 1843; served with distinction in Mexican War; resigned from service in 1854 and lived on farm near St. Louis, Mo.; after volunteering in War of Secession, was appointed brigadier-general by Lincoln; achieved early successes in capture of Forts Henry and Donelson; after these and other successes in the west was appointed lieutenant-general in 1864, and transferred active operations to the east against Lee, the latter surrendering to him April 9, 1865, practically ending the war; elected President in 1868, and again in 1872. Died Mt. McGregor, N. Y., July 23, 1885.

where armies had operated during the war were almost destitute of buildings, fences, and agricultural implements. A severe drought in the summer of 1865 added to the general distress. Subsequently, the legislatures convened under the Lincoln-Johnson plan of reconstruction, in order to prevent idleness, begging, and consequent crime, passed laws to compel the negroes to work. These laws declared that negroes who would not support themselves should be fined, or, in default of payment, be forced to work. The vagrancy laws, as they were known, alarmed many good people in the North, who thought that they were designed to reduce the free negroes to a state of bondage. The object and nature of these regulations were misrepresented by politicians and a portion of the press, and the Radicals in Congress took advantage of the sentiment thus created to refuse to admit to the Union the States reconstructed under the Lincoln-Johnson policy until they had been reorganized under the Congressional plan.

During these times some of the white people of the South organized secret societies, which ultimately helped to save portions of the country from absolute anarchy and ruin.

The Ku Klux Klan, 1867-1869

The members of these organizations went about at night in disguise, terrifying the evil element in control of the government. In many cases the dread inspired by the very

appearance of these bodies of quiet, white-sheeted, ghost-like men was sufficient to deter evildoers from further crime. In some cases, however, in the absence of all chance for justice in the courts, severe measures were used and death was visited upon offenders; but these instances were rare. The societies, collectively called the Ku Klux Klan, had been composed principally of earnest and conservative men in each community, and were formally disbanded early in 1869. Gradually, however, the southern States began to free themselves from these terrible conditions as military support of the alien element was withdrawn, although South Carolina and Louisiana remained under carpet-bag rule until freed from that condition by the action of President Hayes in 1877.¹

242. The Alabama Claims.—In 1871 a special treaty was made with Great Britain in order to settle questions arising out of the damages inflicted by the *Alabama* and other Confederate ships of war upon the commerce of the United States. The United States claimed damages because some of these ships had been built in British ports. This, it was alleged, the British government should have prevented. It was agreed to submit the dispute to a tribunal of five, composed of representatives from the United States, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil. This tribunal met at Geneva, Switzerland, and awarded to the United States damages amounting to \$15,500,000.

243. Presidential Campaign of 1872.—In the presidential campaign of 1872, the Republicans renominated General Grant.

¹ The southern students especially should comprehend clearly that the element that had drifted into the south after the war was not typical of the northern people. In fact, there is no doubt that if the northern people generally had known of the true conditions under reconstruction misrule, they would have come to the aid of their fellow-countrymen. These conditions, however, were misrepresented to them for many years by the corrupt agencies in control of the southern State governments and by a public press much inferior to that of to-day. In the midst of reconstruction in the south and the enfranchisement of the freedmen there, the voters of Ohio rejected negro suffrage in that State by a majority of 50,000.

There was, however, considerable dissatisfaction with the attitude of the administration toward conditions in the southern States. A portion of those who were thus dissatisfied formed the Liberal Republican party and nominated Horace Greeley of New York for President. The Democrats felt that it was the best policy to accept the platform of the Liberal Republicans and to endorse their nominees. General Grant, however, was elected by a large majority, receiving 286 out of 366 electoral votes. Greeley died before the electoral votes were cast, so that the 80 minority votes were scattered.²



SITTING BULL

Son of Jumping Bull and nephew of Four Horns, noted Sioux Indian chiefs; born in North Dakota about 1837, was always noted for hostility to the whites; was prominent in Indian uprisings from 1860 until after the complete annihilation of Custer's troops in 1876; escaped to Canada, but returned to United States and was killed in 1890.

244. Indian Uprisings, 1871-1876.—

During Grant's first term the western Indians had been badly treated. The President endeavored to put an end to this evil, but the forces of corruption in politics were too powerful for him to overcome, and several Indian uprisings followed. The Apaches of Arizona rose in revolt in 1871, and the Modoc Indians on the Pacific coast in 1873; but the severest conflict took place with the Sioux in South Dakota in 1876. In this war several companies of a cavalry regiment led by General Custer were overpowered by the Sioux Indians under their chief, Sitting Bull, and were slain to a man.

245. Financial Affairs.—The period immediately following the war was a time of great corruption in public affairs. It was also a period in which there was wild speculation in real estate and railroads. In 1873 a great financial crash came, followed by distress and suffering throughout the country.³

² Some dissenting Democrats nominated Charles O'Connor for President. He received, however, no votes in the electoral college.

³ A part of this governmental corruption became famous under the name of the Credit Mobilier cases, referring to the operations of a body of men who misappropriated immense sums of money subscribed for transcontinental railroad construction.

In 1875 Congress passed an act making provision for the redemption in coin of greenbacks issued during and after the war. This led in 1879 to the resumption of specie payments, as this redemption was called, and to the rise in value of the regularly authorized paper money of the government, which, in 1864, had reached the low point of 35 cents on the dollar.

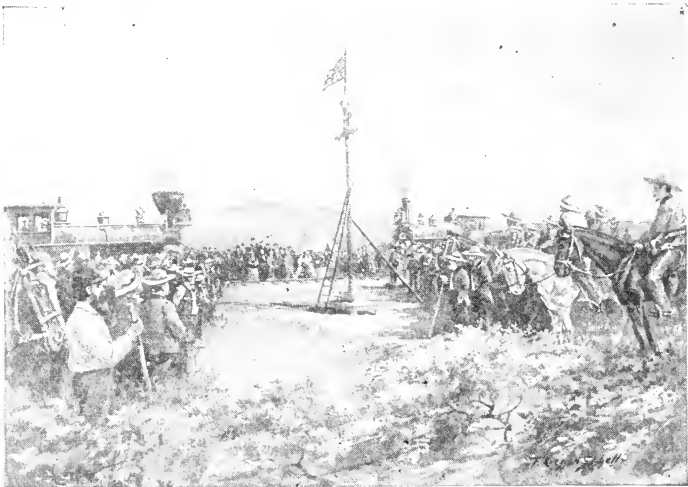


GENERAL CUSTER IN A PARLEY WITH THE INDIANS

246. The Disputed Presidential Election of 1876.—In the presidential campaign of 1876, many Republicans were in favor of nominating General Grant for the third time. This movement, however, was successfully resisted by those who opposed the establishment of a third term precedent in the presidency of the

United States. In place of Grant, therefore, the Republicans nominated General Rutherford B. Hayes for President, and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana.

In the election that ensued it seemed at first that Tilden had won by a small majority in the electoral colleges, but disputes arose in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which States returned two sets of contesting electors. These three southern



MEETING OF THE UNION AND CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROADS

States were still under the control of the carpet-bag government; and one of the returning boards, composed of those appointed to canvass the votes, threw out Democratic majorities on the ground that negroes had been intimidated in the elections, and therefore gave certificates of election to the Republican electors.

This dispute presented a grave problem, and there was great excitement throughout the country. Congress appointed a commission to which each disputed case should be referred, this commission being composed of five members from the House,

five from the Senate, and five Justices of the Supreme Court. Eight of the commission finally selected were Republicans in politics and seven of them Democrats, who by a strict party vote of eight to seven declared, March 2, 1877, that Hayes and Wheeler had been elected.⁴

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Serious panics which widely affected the business and finance of the country occurred in 1867 under President Johnson and again in 1873 under President Grant. The crisis in the latter panic occurred on a Friday, and the term "Black Friday" has been applied to it. The same term has also been applied to a more sudden crash which shook the financial centres on Friday, September 25, 1869.

2. There were, during these times of business depression and consequent suffering, national leaders who achieved victories in peace and statesmanship as notable as those won by the great generals in the war for the Union. Among these leaders should be mentioned Hugh W. McCulloch of Indiana, and David A. Wells, who performed a great service in reorganizing the finances of the Federal government and in reducing the enormous debt incurred by the war. Hamilton Fish, of New York, secretary of state under Grant, most ably conducted the affairs of that department during a very critical period filled with foreign complications.

3. The first of the Ku Klux Klan societies (see Sec. 241) was organized in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866. At first the members met merely for purposes of amusement, but they soon discovered that their very secrecy of organization could be used as a power over the vicious but ignorant elements in control of the State government. This led, in the following year, to an extension

⁴ Tilden received 184 undisputed votes, Hayes 165. There were 19 disputed votes of the States under reconstruction government: Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina. The electoral commission awarded all these to Hayes, and one disputed electoral vote from Oregon, making the electoral vote 185 to 184 in favor of Hayes.

It is unfortunate that all questions referred to the commission should in every case have been decided by a party vote of eight to seven. It had been the intention of Congress to provide for seven Republicans and seven Democrats, and the fifteenth member of the commission was to have been Justice David Davis of Illinois, who was an independent in politics. In the meantime, however, Justice Davis was elected a Senator from Illinois, and an additional Republican was chosen in his place from the Supreme Court.


of the scope of the order, from which year dates its political significance. Later, General N. B. Forrest was chosen as the national leader of these secret societies. The Klan was patriotic in its purposes and ideas, and its members were sworn to support the Constitution of the United States. After the formal disbandment of the Klan in 1869, irresponsible persons imitated its disguises and committed acts which were not justifiable. Other outrages were perpetrated by "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags" in similar disguise, which for some time, were attributed to the Ku Klux Klan.

4. It has well been asked if the political institutions of any other nation in the world could have withstood the shock of the disputed elections of 1876. Both Tilden and Hayes and many of the leaders of either party deserve great credit for their attitude toward the result. Tilden accepted the decision in good faith and his opponent showed moderation in victory. Americans have greater cause for pride in such cases than in the records of generals and armies.

5. A great tide of European immigration began to set in during the sixties. From 1861 to 1879, a year marking the culmination of a period of prosperity, the immigration had increased from 112,000 to 789,000.

6. The great expansion of the northwest and the marvelous growth of the wheat crop should prove an interesting subject for special investigation. The grain growing area of the United States in 1867 was nearly doubled by 1879, and the output grew in equal ratio. At the latter date it amounted to considerably over 2,000,000,000 bushels. During the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866-1867 and between France and Germany in 1870-1871, wheat sold at prices ranging from \$2.00 to \$2.85 a bushel. What is the price of wheat to-day?

7. Another interesting subject for investigation should be the further driving back of the Indians, the growth of the transcontinental railroads, and the extinction of the enormous herds of buffalo that had for ages roamed at will over the vast western plains.



CHAPTER XXXV

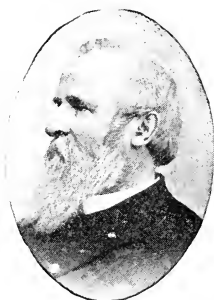
LEADING EVENTS FROM 1877 TO THE WAR WITH SPAIN

247. End of Reconstruction.—The administration of President Hayes marks the end of Reconstruction. The people of the northern States had become informed with respect to the conditions in the South, and enlightened public opinion was heartily in accord with the President when he determined wholly to withdraw the Federal military forces from the South and to allow the people to set up such State governments as they wished; it was many years, however, before the southern States recovered from the burden of the enormous expense imposed upon them by the corruption and extravagance of the reconstruction regime.¹

248. Conflicts between Capital and Labor.—In the summer of 1877 Pittsburg became the centre of a great labor disturbance, involving the employes of leading railroad lines and the coal miners of Pennsylvania, in the course of which there were extensive riots. Property to the value of several million dollars was destroyed, and President Hayes dispatched United States troops to the scene of the trouble. These disturbances were largely due to conditions arising out of the War of Secession. During the war, manufacturers had been greatly stimulated by the need of the government for munitions and supplies of war.

¹ Upon the removal of the military forces, the remaining reconstruction governments immediately collapsed. Responsible State governments controlled by native whites replaced them. These set themselves to the task of maintaining as good governments as possible in the face of an ignorant and sometimes overwhelming negro vote, controlled in large measure by the vicious influences that directed the previous era of misrule. Until some years later, when the southern States passed restrictive legislation, the whites made use of many devices to minimize or even illegally to throw out part of the negro vote.

and by increased tariff duties. Subsequently, great corporations were formed, with millions of dollars of capital and with many thousands of employes. Under this development, the relations between employers and employed had become very much changed. Personal knowledge of and contact between them necessarily became less frequent or ceased altogether, and the employes felt obliged to protect their interests by labor organizations formed to offset the powerful corporations built up by capital. The seventh



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Born Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. Valedictorian, Kenyon College, 1842; studied law and became city solicitor Cincinnati, 1858-1861; served throughout War of Secession, rising to rank of brigadier-general of volunteers; member Congress, 1865-1867; elected governor Ohio, 1867, and re-elected, 1869; again elected in 1875; election to Presidency (1876) confirmed by special electoral commission, March 2, 1877; became active after retiring from office (1881) in prison reform and in educational work. Died 1893.

decade (1860-1870) of the nineteenth century seems to have been most typical of the ills attending unlimited or "cutthroat" competition; while the eighth decade (1870-1880) is said to illustrate most forcibly the evils of the unregulated growth of monopoly.² Out of these conditions arose great railroad combinations, combinations of industrial enterprise known as trusts, great banking systems, and labor unions. Regulation by the Federal government followed. At first the measures intended to control the giant combinations were not enforced, but during the administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson the laws passed at the end of the ninth decade were shown to have real force in them.

249. Financial Legislation under Hayes.—

In 1878 Congress passed a measure known as the Bland-Allison silver act, 1878 by the House, it provided for unlimited coinage of silver dollars at a fixed ratio with gold (about 16 to 1). It was

intended to give the country two kinds of coin of equal value, gold and silver. In the Senate, the bill was modified to provide for the purchase by the government of not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of bullion, each month, and to

² More accurately, each period extended into the decade following.

coin the same into silver dollars. Agitation in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver was kept up for many years, coming strongly to the front in the presidential campaign of 1896.

When it was seen that the Federal government could readily redeem its notes and bonds, it was enabled to pay off a great deal of its war debt of nearly \$3,000,000,000 by means of ^{Refunding} refunding. That is, the government was now able to borrow money by issuing bonds bearing lower rates of interest. With the money thus acquired it could pay back a large amount of the principal of the war debt, which it had borrowed at a very high rate of interest. The government thus saved many millions of dollars a year and made rapid progress in the matter of payments.

250. Presidential Elections of 1880.—As the time for the elections of 1880 approached, a division of the Republican party calling themselves "Stalwarts" made another effort to nominate General Grant for a third term. This movement was inspired partly by opposition to the candidacy of James G. Blaine. Neither Blaine nor Grant was nominated, however, and the choice of the party fell upon General James A. Garfield, who, like Grant and Hayes, had won distinction in the Federal army during the War of Secession. The Republican nominee for Vice-President was Chester A. Arthur of New York. The Democrats nominated General Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, and William H. English of Indiana. The election was closely contested, but Garfield was successful by small majorities in sufficient States to give him a preponderance of the electoral votes.³

251. President Garfield Shot by an Assassin, 1881.—The change of administration at Washington encouraged a great number of men to seek positions under the new President; but President Garfield, by his recognition of the Blaine faction in the Republican party, incurred the displeasure of the opposition

³ The Greenback-labor party and the Prohibition party also nominated candidates at this election.

element, which felt entitled to the spoils of political success. Garfield was accordingly made the object of much fierce denunciation, in the midst of which a disappointed and weak-minded office seeker shot the President on July 2, 1881. The assassin's shot did not prove immediately fatal, but Garfield died from its effects on the 19th of September following, whereupon Chester A. Arthur took the oath of office as President.

Chester A. Arthur becomes President



JAMES A. GARFIELD

Born Orange, Ohio, November 19, 1831. Largely self-educated; became teacher while studying law; member Ohio State senate, 1859; served in west during War of Secession, rising by exceptional merit, to rank of major-general, 1863, resigned from service to take seat in House of Representatives; re-elected to Congress regularly, where he opposed Reconstruction policies of Andrew Johnson, and was otherwise prominent as leader in shaping legislation, including advocacy of the resumption of specie payments; elected President, 1880; shot by assassin July 2, 1881, and died September 19 following.

252. Civil Service Reform.—While the country was horrified at this deed, public spirited citizens seized the opportunity to impress the nation with the need of civil service reform. Accordingly a National Civil Service Reform League was organized, which chose George William Curtis for its president. As a result of this Progress of the reform

agitation, an act was passed by Congress in 1883, which was the first really efficient law aiming to establish a system of appointments to government positions by merit instead of by partisan preference. This reform movement had numerous reverses and partial defeats in the course of its progress, but in the end it always seemed to gain more than it lost in each succeeding administration. Under Cleveland considerable progress was made, although extraordinary pressure was brought to bear upon him because of the advent to power of the Democratic party after a long period of political subordination. There was

an apparent retrogression when the Republicans triumphed under Harrison. The latter suspended certain civil service orders of his predecessor in the post-office department; but this suspension was more than offset by the activities of Theodore Roosevelt, whom Harrison appointed as a member of the Civil

Service Commission. Roosevelt's energetic action, first as a member and later as chairman of the Commission, combined with his political shrewdness, greatly increased the power and prestige of that body.

253. Other Events of Arthur's Administration.—During the administration of President Arthur, Congress passed an act to abolish the practice of polygamy by the Mormons Anti-polygamy legislation in Utah. In 1890 the Mormon church officially forbade polygamy, and Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896.⁴

Congress also established zones of standard time throughout the United States, under which the country was divided into four sections of fifteen degrees of longitude each. Before the Standard time zones adoption of this uniform regulation of time zones, interstate railroads had been having the greatest difficulty with their schedules throughout the entire breadth of the continent.⁵

In 1883 an effort was made by the tariff reformers in both parties to reduce the rates then in effect. When the tariff bill was finally enacted, however, it was claimed that the rates were increased rather than lowered. In 1884 a period of Tariff of 1883 and panic of 1884 severe financial depression set in. This depression reached a climax in May and June, 1884, when a number of the great business houses failed. Within a few months forty-one railroad corporations passed into the hands of receivers. The price of wheat fell to a very low level, and there was great distress in the grain growing sections, particularly in the upper tier of southern States and throughout the west.

⁴ The Mormon sect was first established under Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1840. In 1844, Smith was killed and in 1846 his followers were driven from the State. Later, under the leadership of Brigham Young, they founded Salt Lake City.

⁵ Shortly after the War of Secession, work was begun on the first trans-continental railway. One division, under the name of the Union Pacific, began to build westward from Omaha, and the other, the Central Pacific, eastward from Sacramento. The Federal government gave each company more than \$25,000,000, besides grants of land along their routes. The two roads or parts met at Ogden, Utah, in 1869.

In 1884 an exposition was held in New Orleans to celebrate the centennial of the shipment of the first few bags of cotton from Charleston to England. The exposition was called the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial, and the attention of the country was drawn to the steady growth of industry in the South. Instead of the six to eight bags of cotton first exported, the South had produced in that year

World's In-
dustrial Ex-
position at
New Orleans

eight million bales of cotton alone, besides other staple crops. The Exposition showed also that the South had become less distinctly agricultural, and was engaging more in manufacturing and allied industries.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

Born Fairfield, Vt., October 5, 1830. Teacher in Vermont, practised law in New York; served on Governor Morgan's staff during War of Secession; appointed by Grant collector of port of New York, 1871; elected Vice-President with Garfield, 1880; had always opposed civil service reform but aided the reformers after elevation to Presidency at death of Garfield, September 19, 1881, to end of his term in 1885. Died 1886.

254. Presidential Elections of 1884.—The closely contested elections of 1876 and 1880 were followed by another in 1884 in which the Republican candidates were James G. Blaine of Maine and John A. Logan of Illinois, and the Democratic candidates were Grover Cleveland of New York and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. Cleveland and Hendricks were elected, but the election was so closely contested that their popular plurality was but 23,000.⁶

255. Important Legislation during Cleveland's First Term.—Shortly after Cleveland became President, Congress passed a bill making better or more ex-

Presidential
succession

tended provision for the succession to the Presidency. Up to

⁶ A number of Republicans who had declared in favor of civil service and other reforms were warmly opposed to the nomination of Blaine. Among them were Andrew D. White, George F. Hoar, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Theodore Roosevelt. These, however, afterwards supported the nominee of the party. Republicans who did not support Blaine were called "Mugwumps." For a time the term "Mugwumps" was applied as a term of derision to all who did not strictly adhere to the party with which they were usually associated.

that time, the succession was planned to pass from the Vice-President to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, or to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Provision was now made for the succession to pass from the Vice-President to the Secretary of State, and, after him, through the other members of the cabinet in the order of precedence and of the successive creation of their departments. Another act, passed in 1887, left to the courts of each State, as far as possible, the decision of all contests over disputed electoral votes. This was done in order to avoid a repetition of the dangerous situation involved in the Hayes-Tilden controversy in 1876.

In 1887 Congress passed an act for the regulation of interstate commerce, creating for that purpose an Interstate Commerce Commission, to which it granted extensive powers to prevent discrimination in trade and transportation. In the same year, Congress repealed the Tenure of Office Act passed twenty years before for the purpose of hampering President Johnson.

256. Foreign Relations in the Pacific.—

The Samoan Islands, although nearer to Australia than to North America, had attracted

a number of immigrants from the United States, besides many from Germany and Great Britain. Although the islands offered themselves to the United States in 1877, this country was not prepared at that time for any such radical steps as acquiring distant territory. Consequently, the islanders made treaties with Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

The treaty with Germany granted that nation special concessions, and this fact led to closer relations between the United States and Great Britain. During Cleveland's term of office



GROVER CLEVELAND

Born Caldwell, N. J., March 18, 1837. Held clerical positions in New York City and in Buffalo, 1853-1855; studied law and in 1863 became assistant district attorney of Erie Co.; elected sheriff of Erie Co. in 1870; elected Mayor of Buffalo, 1881; elected Governor of New York, 1882; elected President, 1884; defeated by Harrison, 1888; again elected President in 1892; gave annual lectures, Princeton University. Died Princeton, 1908.

The Samoan
affair

German warships openly supported a native claimant to the throne, but the United States consul proclaimed a protectorate under the treaty of 1878, and he was supported by the British. Diplomatic negotiations were entered into by the three great powers concerned, during the progress of which the German consul openly took part in overthrowing the native ruler in favor of the rival claimant. Subsequently, the German warship *Adler* was directed to shell a village under the control of the deposed ruler; but the United States cruiser *Adams*, now made ready for action under Commander Leary, deliberately placed itself between the threatened village and the *Adler*, whereupon the commander of the latter, not being prepared to hazard war with the United States, gave up his purpose.

The German consul now proclaimed martial law, and, early in 1889, conditions in the islands took on a critical aspect, with the warships of the three nations in daily readiness for belligerent action. A possible clash was, however, averted on March 16 by a disaster that assailed all alike. On that day a hurricane dispersed the warlike armament, destroying the German and American ships, although the single British vessel *Calliope* succeeded in saving itself by steaming out to sea. The international negotiations, once suspended, were renewed, and the three nations agreed to a joint protectorate. In 1900 this protectorate gave way, in turn, to another agreement by the terms of which Great Britain withdrew from the islands, the United States acquired Tutuila and Manua, with the excellent harbor of Pago Pago, while Germany secured the remaining islands of the group.

257. Presidential Elections of 1888.—In the presidential campaign of 1888 the Democrats renominated Cleveland, with Allen G. Thurman of Ohio as their candidate for Vice-President. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana and Levi P. Morton of New York. In this campaign the Democrats declared for a tariff for revenue only, while the Repub-

licans declared for a continuation of high protective duties. Harrison and Morton were elected, receiving 233 votes in the electoral colleges to 168 for Cleveland and Thurman. The result was remarkable, however, in that the defeated candidate received a popular plurality of nearly 100,000 over his opponent.

258. Admission of New States; Western Development.—During the ensuing administration the number of States in the Union was increased by the admission, in 1889, of Washington, Montana, and North and South Dakota, while Idaho and Wyoming were admitted in 1890.⁷

A brief review of the addition of new States does not present an adequate conception of the growth in population, industries, and wealth throughout the area embraced in the new States and in the west generally, especially in the Rocky Mountain region. This growth received its early stimulus through hunting, herding, and the discovery of valuable minerals, while development was greatly hastened by the building of the great transcontinental railroad systems.

The history of western mining on a large scale begins with the discovery of gold in California in 1849, already described briefly in Sec. 180. Ten years later, high up the side of a mountain, great deposits of silver were found, the difficulties in mining which led to the earliest great achievements of the mining engineers of the west. Virginia city was founded



BENJAMIN HARRISON

Born North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833. Graduate of Miami University; practised law at Indianapolis, Ind.; served in War of Secession; colonel of volunteers as early as 1862; brevetted brigadier-general at close of war; United States Senator, 1881-1887; President United States, 1889; defeated for re-election in 1892. Died Indianapolis, March 13, 1901.

The mining industry

⁷ It will be remembered that California became a State in 1850. Oregon was admitted into the Union in 1859. Wyoming was the first State to allow women to vote. Colorado in 1893 was the second State to adopt unlimited woman suffrage. Since then the movement for woman suffrage has spread extensively over the west, and, in some limited form, at least, in other States in every section of the Union. In 1913 the territory of Alaska granted woman suffrage, with a unique provision exempting women from jury duty.

and the settlers in this region secured a territorial form of government in 1861, which later developed into the State of Nevada (1864). At about the same time, gold was discovered on the east side of the Rocky Mountains. Lead, also, was discovered in large quantities. Denver and Leadville were founded, the territory of Colorado was created in 1861 and admitted into the Union in 1876. Minerals were found in the neighboring States and the discoveries attracted miners, prospectors, and herdsmen from every section.

In all this development and expansion, it should be borne in mind that no government has been so liberal in its terms of settlement and development as that of the United States; mines were given to those who first discovered or claimed them and no part of the yield was reserved by the government. Later, however, when natural resources began to be monopolized by great corporations, a movement was started to regulate exploitation and to safeguard the interests of the people.

259. Federal Legislation under Harrison.—One of the earliest acts under Harrison's administration was the passage of a high protective tariff under the leadership of Congressman William McKinley, after whom the bill was named. At this time the sentiment for the free coinage of silver was so strong in both great parties that the silver advocates in the Republican party threatened to defeat the tariff measures. Finally, however, a compromise was reached which provided for an increase in the Federal purchase of silver bullion. The support of the silver men was further encouraged by a clause in the bill which seemed to favor free coinage but which was subject to two interpretations. Subsequently, this clause was interpreted by Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury under Cleveland, as declaring against free coinage or bimetallism and in favor of the gold standard.⁸

⁸ See Sec. 263 for tariff legislation under Cleveland; Sec. 280 for the Payne-Aldrich bill passed during the administration of Taft; and Sec. 282 for the Underwood bill passed in 1913. Also see Sec. 268 for further silver agitation under the leadership of Bryan.

Because of the popular demand for Federal regulation of monopolies or trusts, which had already risen to great power through superior management under combination and by the ruthless crushing out of all small competitors, both parties united in Congress in passing the Sherman ^{Sherman anti-trust law} Anti-Trust law in 1890. This law made illegal all contracts to create monopolies in restraint of competition. To enter into such contracts was made a misdemeanor punishable by fine or imprisonment. Both Republicans and Democrats claimed credit for this legislation; but even the most astute party leaders did not believe that it would be enforced, and the heads of great corporations continued to conduct their affairs in much the same way as before and new trusts were created. Regulation under the law was not seriously undertaken until the administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.

In 1890 Congress passed an additional pension act, for the benefit of all Union soldiers who had served ninety days in the War of Secession, and who were unable to do manual ^{Pension legislation} labor. It provided also for the widows and children or the dependent relatives of such soldiers. The act increased the payments of pensions to over \$300,000 a day. The outlay for pensions had, under various acts of Congress, risen from \$29,000,000 a year in 1875 to \$159,000,000 in 1893.⁹

It was during Harrison's administration that the speakership in the House of Representatives rose, under Thomas B. Reed, to a position of exceptional power through the ^{The rule of "Czar" Reed} adoption of new and stringent rules intended to expedite the legislation of the party majority in the house. From that time the influence of the Speaker grew alarmingly. During Taft's administration it reached a climax under Joseph G. Cannon. In 1910, however, a combination of Democrats and "insurgent" or progressive Republicans deprived the office of much of its power through taking away the appointment and control of Congress-

⁹ In 1912, under the provisions of the Sherwood Act, the amount arose to an annual outlay of \$180,000,000.

sional committees and in other ways limiting the prerogatives of the Speaker.

260. Foreign Relations under Harrison.—While the United States and Great Britain were working together in the negotia-



Courtesy Commercial Museum, Philadelphia

SALMON FISHING IN ALASKA

tions relative to the control of the Samoan Islands (Sec. 258), difficulties arose between the two countries with reference to the seal fishing in Bering Sea. In this matter Secretary Blaine insisted that the Bering Sea was, for seal

Bering Sea
controversy

catching, "closed" to the ships of other nations, and the United States had already seized British ships fishing there. When Great Britain demanded reparation the two nations were directly at odds. Fortunately the dispute was, in 1892, submitted to an arbitration tribunal at Paris, which, on most of the points in controversy, decided in favor of Great Britain and the other nations concerned.



PICTURE ILLUSTRATING THE USE OF THE STEAM PLOW, NOW BEING REPLACED BY "MOTOR PLOWS" OR PLOWS EQUIPPED WITH INTERNAL COMBUSTION TRACTORS

An Italian secret society, known as the Mafia, had terrorized the city of New Orleans by numerous crimes. In 1890, the chief of police, who had been very active in prosecuting the society, was assassinated. Nine Italians were tried for complicity in the murder; six were acquitted, and the jury disagreed in the cases of the others. The people of New Orleans were convinced that some of the jurors had been intimidated or bribed. Accordingly a crowd of citizens forced an entrance to the jail, and put the accused Italians to death. As some of the men thus killed were citizens of Italy, the government of that country demanded reparation. The United States consented to pay an indemnity to the families of the Italian citizens slain by the mob, and trouble between the two governments was averted.

Mafia outrages in New Orleans

On October 16, 1892, two United States sailors were killed

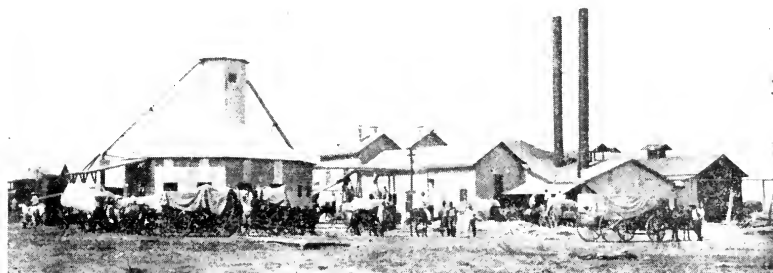
and nineteen injured by a hostile mob of Chileans in Valparaiso. Friction had for some time existed between a victorious revolutionary faction in Chile and the United States minister and minor officials. The revolutionists claimed, with considerable show of justice, that the minister had improperly given aid and protection to the defeated faction. Subsequently the new Chilean government was slow in expressing any official regret for the attack upon the United States sailors, but Secretary Blaine insisted upon reparation with the result that in 1893 Chile paid an indemnity of \$75,000 for the victims of the riot and apologized for her attitude in the matter. The United States minister, who had been at least indiscreet, was recalled by President Cleveland.

261. Presidential Elections of 1892.—In 1890 an organization known as the National Farmers' Alliance had attained considerable strength, and in 1891 and 1892 the Alliance united with the labor unions and formed what was called the People's or the Populist party. It advocated public ownership of railroads, telegraph systems, and telephone lines; declared for government loans on land and produce; and advocated special laws for the protection of labor. It also advocated the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, postal savings banks, and an income tax. This party nominated, as its candidate for President, James B. Weaver of Iowa. The Republicans renominated Benjamin Harrison, with Whitelaw Reid of New York as their candidate for Vice-President. The Democrats again nominated Grover Cleveland, with Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice-President. Although the new People's Party showed remarkable strength, the contest was really between the Republicans and the Democrats, the latter making tariff reform the chief issue. Cleveland and Stevenson were elected, the Democratic candidates receiving a majority in the electoral college and a plurality of the popular vote over their opponents.

262. Financial and Business Depression of 1893.—Early in 1893 the Federal government, conducting the Treasury under the provisions of the Sherman Silver Act, felt keenly a decided

depreciation in the value of silver. Gold was, therefore, kept back or exported in large quantities. On several occasions the gold reserve had reached so low a point that the Treasury was compelled to resort to all kinds of devices to maintain a balance in order to keep the country on a gold basis with the other great nations of the world. Congress, called together in special session, repealed the Sherman Silver Act, but financial distress continued and there were serious failures in business throughout the country.

263. Tariff Legislation, 1894.—At the regular session of Congress, the Democratic majority in the House, under the leadership of William L. Wilson, prepared a bill for tariff reduction, in accordance with the campaign pledge of the party. In the Senate,



COTTON-GINNING IN TEXAS: SHOWING, FROM LEFT TO RIGHT, SEED STORAGE-HOUSE; GIN HOUSE; POWER-HOUSE, AND WAGONS UNLOADING AT SEED STORAGE-HOUSE

however, a few Democrats voted with the Republicans to increase the rates on a number of articles. In its final form Cleveland denounced the bill and it became a law without his signature.¹⁰

At the time the Wilson bill was being passed in the House, that body attempted to provide against an anticipated decrease in revenue by raising the internal revenue tax on *Income tax* liquors and by the passage of a tax on incomes in excess of \$4,000; but the latter tax was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. See Sec. 280.

¹⁰ The leader of these high tariff Democrats was Gorman of Maryland, so that the bill was afterwards known as the Wilson-Gorman bill.

264. Foreign Affairs during Cleveland's Second Term.—From early in the nineteenth century, when Great Britain secured a part of Guiana from Holland, the boundary line between that province and Venezuela had been in dispute. This dispute



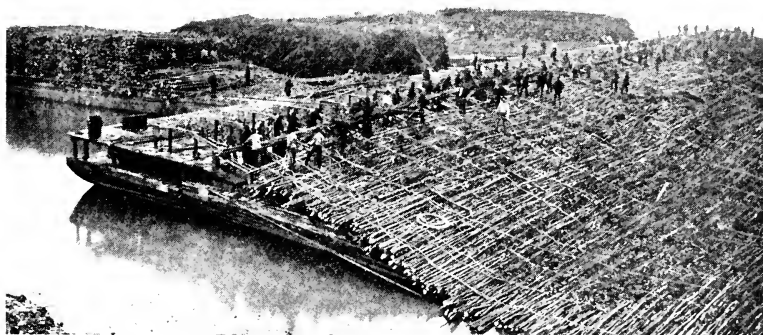
THE UNION PACIFIC CROSSING SALT LAKE; A CUT-OFF TWENTY-SEVEN MILES IN LENGTH

reached a critical stage during Cleveland's second term subsequent to an ultimatum from Great Britain that she would definitely occupy a large part of the territory claimed by Venezuela. The latter country appealed to the United

The Venezuela boundary dispute

States for protection and arbitration of the difficulty. Upon receiving this appeal, President Cleveland offered the friendly services of the United States to secure the arbitration asked for by Venezuela. This proposition, however, the British government refused to consider. Cleveland now took the position that the Monroe doctrine embraced the mediation of the United States to protect any American country from aggression on the part of European powers. In this case he did not assume that wrong had been done to Venezuela but that the United States government was justified in demanding invest-

Extension of
the Monroe
doctrine



WEAVING "TREE CLOTH," USED IN CONTROLLING THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER FLOODS

tigation through arbitration. To the assertion of Great Britain that the Monroe doctrine did not cover the point at issue, Cleveland replied in a special message to Congress in December, 1895, in which he declared that it was "incumbent upon the United States" to determine the true boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana. The message also clearly indicated that the finding thus established by the United States must be upheld.

Without a dissenting vote, a special commission suggested by the President was created by act of Congress, while the message aroused both countries to the seriousness of the situation. A

general desire among the people for a speedy and amicable settlement became immediately evident. Negotiations were continued and Great Britain agreed to submit the points at issue to an international tribunal of arbitration, which announced its decision in 1899. In the main this decision upheld the contentions of Great Britain.¹¹

265. Domestic Affairs under Cleveland.—Besides those already mentioned, there were several serious labor disturbances or strikes during the period under discussion in this chapter. For the greater part, these had a local significance, but a strike in Chicago in 1894 among railroad employes brought up a national issue. The general depression in business had affected the railroads, and the Pullman car works at Chicago cut wages. A strike was declared by the American Railway Union and when the railroads attempted to employ other men, rioting followed and railroad trains were impeded or altogether blocked. When the governor of Illinois refused to order out the State Militia, President Cleveland sent Federal troops to the scene to secure the safety of the United States mail and for the protection of interstate commerce. Cleveland's action in thus asserting Federal authority in what many maintained was the affair of an individual State was a notable illustration of the growth of the powers of the Federal government.¹²

¹¹ At an earlier stage in the negotiations (1876) Venezuela had asked for aid from the United States; President Grant, however, took no action other than indicating to the British government that the United States was interested in an equitable settlement of the dispute. The Venezuelan boundary dispute is of especial historical and political importance in that it not only brought the Monroe doctrine again into prominence (*Cf.* Mexico and French aggression under Maximilian, Sec. 239), but it manifestly extended its application. Cleveland took an advanced position, and his decision in the matter paved the way for the success of United States policies and diplomacy in the subsequent foreign complications arising under succeeding administrations.

¹² This strike is not to be confounded with the Chicago strike of 1886. At that time a number of anarchists openly advocated violence. At one of the meetings of the strikers, a bomb was thrown among the police, who were attempting to disperse the assemblage. In the explosion that followed, several policemen were killed outright and a large number injured. Some of the leading anarchists were arrested, seven were convicted, and four of these were hanged.

266. Presidential Elections of 1896.—In the Presidential campaign of 1896 the Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska and Arthur Sewell of Maine. The Republicans nominated William McKinley of Ohio and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey. The Democrats advocated the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. This was opposed by the Republicans unless the other great nations would agree to adopt the same policy. On this issue both parties split. The Republican silver advocates organized the "National Silver Party" and endorsed Bryan and Sewell. The gold Democrats met in convention and nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky. The People's Party endorsed Bryan, but nominated for Vice-President Thomas E. Watson of Georgia. After an unusually exciting campaign, McKinley and Hobart were successful, getting 271 electoral votes to 176 for Bryan and Sewell.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. A great many points mentioned in this chapter may be brought up for fuller discussion. Especially is this the case with State issues in matters decided by the action of individual States. One of these is the question of woman suffrage. (See p. 347.)

2. Other points of both local importance and of national or international interest are the World's Fairs or Expositions. Two or three of those bearing especially upon certain phases of national development have been mentioned. The greatest of all of these expositions up to the War with Spain was the World's Columbian Exposition held at Chicago in 1893, to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World. This exposition followed the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876, and preceded the World's Fair at St. Louis in 1904, held to commemorate the purchase of the Louisiana territory.

3. Inventions and improvements had kept up with the growth of the country. Space in this volume cannot be given to these. Such works of engineering as the deepening of the mouths of the Mississippi River by James B. Eads (1879) suggest at once the modern problem of the control of floods in the entire Mississippi valley. During this time great strides were being made in the perfection of the telephone, and in the use of natural gas.

CHAPTER XXXVI

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN TO THE PRESENT TIME

267. The War with Spain.—From 1895 to 1898 Spain had been trying to suppress a rebellion in Cuba. In the latter part of that period especially, the Spanish officials had conducted the campaign



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Born Niles, O., Jan. 29, 1843. Educated in Ohio and at Allegheny College; taught in public schools; entered Union army as private in 1861; for meritorious conduct received promotions; brevet-major at close of war; served almost continuously in Congress from 1877 to 1891; framed in 1890 McKinley Tariff Bill; governor of Ohio, 1892-1896; President of United States, 1897-1901; shot by assassin, Sept. 5, 1901. Died Buffalo, N. Y., Sept. 14, 1901.

against the Cuban people with extreme harshness. Conditions had become so ^{Spanish} ^{cruelties in} bad that the United States govern- ^{Cuba} ment interested itself in endeavoring, by offers of mediation, to stop the war. The United States objected particularly to the policies of the Spanish commander in Cuba, General Weyler, who had concentrated over 200,000 men, women, and children in camps guarded by soldiers, where great numbers of those thus confined died from insufficient food and shelter, or of disease, from the spread of which they were not adequately protected. Moreover, the prevalence of disease, chiefly yellow fever, was affecting or was likely to affect American seaports. Commerce between the United States and Cuba was seriously disturbed, and the Spanish policies were threatening ruin to important American interests in the island.

While negotiations between Washington and Madrid were in progress, the American battleship *Maine* was blown up in the harbor of Havana on the 15th of February, 1898, by what seemed to be an explosion of a submarine mine. More than 250 lives were lost, and this event served to

The *Maine*
blown up in
Havana harbor

aggravate the feeling in the United States against Spain and to make it increasingly difficult to hold in check the sentiment for armed intervention in Cuba. After further fruitless negotiations between the two nations, the United States, on April 20, 1898, delivered an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of Spain from Cuba and the acknowledgment of the latter's independence. This Spain refused to do and both countries prepared for war.

In response to President McKinley's first call for volunteers, 125,000 men were enrolled, and this number was later increased to 200,000. The regular army was augmented from 28,000 War declared to 60,000 men. In every section of the country those volunteering



THE U. S. BATTLESHIP "MAINE" ENTERING HAVANA HARBOR

for enlistment far exceeded the number required. Union and Confederate veterans again responded to the call of war; but this time they enlisted to fight shoulder to shoulder against a common foe.

On May 1, Commodore Dewey, who was in command of the Pacific fleet at Hong Kong when war was declared, boldly entered Manila harbor in the Philippines and there attacked the eastern fleet of Spain. The fire of the Americans was terrific, and, in a few hours, every Spanish ship had been sunk or burned without serious injury to any of the American vessels. The Americans had only seven men wounded, while the Spanish loss in killed and wounded was nearly four hundred.

Battle of
Manila Bay,
May 1, 1898

Another Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera had sailed westward from the Cape Verde Islands and had entered the harbor of Santiago, Cuba. Here Cervera was shortly afterwards Engage-ments at San Juan and El Caney blockaded by an American fleet under Rear-Admiral W. T. Sampson, and in June an army of 16,000 men under Major-General Shafter set out from Tampa to Santiago to coöperate with Sampson.¹ Land engagements were the first to take place. In these the Americans were successful, notably in the fighting at San Juan and El Caney on July 1.

Since at this time General Shafter was ill, much of the final success of these two engagements was due to the energy and experience of Major-Generals Joseph Wheeler and Henry W. Lawton, to the steady courage of the regular infantry, and the determined charge of the volunteer cavalry, a large part of whom were known as the "Rough Riders" under Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Lawton's losses at El Caney were about 400 in killed and wounded, while Wheeler's command at San Juan also suffered heavily.² In spite of the successful attacks upon San Juan and El Caney, the American forces were in a critical position, owing to the unaccustomed tropical heat, heavy rains, and insufficient supplies. Shafter

¹ A young American officer, Lieutenant R. P. Hobson, volunteered to "bottle up" the Spanish fleet by sinking a vessel at the entrance of Santiago harbor. Hobson, with a few picked men, conducted the collier *Merrimac* into the harbor before dawn on June 3, and, in the midst of a heavy fire from the Spanish batteries, scuttled the ship in the channel. After sinking the *Merrimac*, Hobson and his men clung to a raft until daybreak, when they were taken off by a Spanish launch. Before the *Merrimac* was in the desired position for sinking, the steering gear of the vessel was shot away. The vessel became unmanageable, and Hobson did not succeed in blocking the channel as intended. It is worthy of note that upon their capture Cervera sent word to Sampson that Hobson and his men were safe.

² Lawton had served in the Union army during the War of Secession, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He saw further service in campaigns against the Indians in the west. Wheeler, known as "fighting Joe," had during the War of Secession risen to high rank under the Confederacy.

counselled withdrawal; but at this juncture the navy won a notable victory, which raised the spirits of the land forces and in equal degree disheartened the enemy.

On July 3, during the absence of Admiral Sampson and while the blockading fleet was under the command of Commodore W. S. Schley, the Spanish fleet attempted to escape before the anticipated fall of the city of Santiago. Defeat of the Spanish fleet, July 3 Admiral Cervera hoped to catch the American fleet unprepared, but the latter pursued the Spanish warships promptly, all the while pouring into them a destructive fire until the last one was beached 45 miles west of Santiago harbor.³ The Spanish casualties in this engagement were 540 in killed and wounded. On the American side one man was killed and one wounded, both of whom were on the flagship *Brooklyn*.

Subsequently, on July 17, Santiago surrendered to the American army. The terms of surrender included that city and much of eastern Cuba, with an agreement on the part of the victors to transport to Spain the 22,000 Spanish troops included in the articles of capitulation.

Another American army under General Miles, after a brief campaign from July 25 to August 12, took possession of Porto Rico. On the latter date hostilities were suspended and peace commissioners from the United States and Spain prepared to negotiate a treaty. Peace declared This treaty was signed on December 10, by the terms of which Spain relinquished her claim to Cuba and ceded to the United States the island of Porto Rico, the island of Guam, and the Philippine Islands. The United States buys the Philippine Islands For the last named islands the United States agreed to pay to Spain \$20,000,000.⁴

³ This last remaining vessel representing Spanish power in the West was, strangely enough, named the *Cristobal Colon*, after the great discoverer who, four hundred years before, had first planted the flag of Spain upon the coast of Cuba.

⁴ In the meantime, the city of Manila had been bombarded by Admiral Dewey and General Merritt, and had surrendered to the Americans on August 13.

By this treaty Spanish rule in the western hemisphere, begun in 1492, was ended. The United States continued to control Cuba under a military administration, with General Leonard Wood as governor, until the Cubans had drawn up a constitution which satisfied conditions imposed by Congress. On the 20th of May, 1902, the United States withdrew from the island, and the Republic of Cuba was duly proclaimed.⁵

268. Diplomatic and Political Problems arising out of the Spanish War.—The purchase by the United States of the Philippine Islands brought with it problems of an entirely new nature. In the first place, the natives, who, under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, had been fighting against the Spanish, transferred their hostility to the United States. In the second place, the problem arose whether, subsequent to anticipated American success in subduing resistance, the islands should be treated (1) as territories with the privileges of American citizenship accorded to the natives; or (2) as colonies or possessions to which, for instance, the Fifteenth Amendment and the guarantees of the Constitution did not apply. A special commission was appointed and sent to the Philippines to investigate conditions. This commission reported in favor of the latter alternative, and the United States government was started upon a policy of maintaining colonial possessions.⁶

⁵ The first president of Cuba was Thomas Estrada Palma. He was re-elected in 1906, but his opponents disputed his election and flew to arms. Consequently, President Roosevelt felt justified in intervening to restore order. United States troops were landed on the island, and Roosevelt appointed Secretary of War William H. Taft as military governor. He was succeeded later by Governor Magoon, who administered affairs in Cuba until 1909, when it was believed that order was sufficiently restored for the Cubans to reassume control of their own affairs.

⁶ Organized resistance to American authority in the Philippines was crushed out early in 1900, not, however, without heavy expense to the government and serious loss of life to the American troops in battle and from tropical diseases. Aguinaldo was captured in March, 1901. Congress conferred power upon the President to organize civil government in the Philippines, and William H. Taft became the first governor of the island. Governor Taft

269. Further Acquisitions of Territory in the Pacific.—Several times during the closing years of the nineteenth century, a body of Americans in the Hawaiian Islands had endeavored to secure the annexation of that archipelago to the United States, but had not succeeded. When, however, the United States government began offensive operations against Spain in the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands at once assumed a greater importance, and a resolution providing for annexation was passed by Congress making Hawaii “part of the territory of the United States.” Hawaii annexed, 1898

270. Diplomacy of the United States in the Orient; the Boxer Rebellion in China, 1900.—In 1899, John Hay, then Secretary of State, made formal protest to the governments of Great Britain, Germany, and Russia against what appeared to be the first steps looking toward the division and ultimate control of China by these powers. He also advocated an “open door” policy respecting trade with that country. Great Britain alone returned a favorable reply.

In the meantime the Chinese people were being aroused by the threatened loss of their independence. An organization or secret society in China pledged itself to drive out or kill all foreigners. Nominally it was an athletic society and its members became known in English as the “Boxers.” The Chinese government was unable or unwilling to put down an uprising against foreigners which broke out with sudden fury in 1900. The German minister was killed in the streets of Peking, and the foreign element in the capital, including the ministers of the various powers, barricaded themselves at the British embassy until those surviving the Boxer attacks were rescued by the army of the allied powers.

endeavored to prepare the Filipinos for self-government by a gradual process of extending the suffrage to the more intelligent natives. This plan was not unlike that of President Lincoln for the partial enfranchisement of negroes after the War of Secession. After the United States had acquired the Philippines, a dispute arose between Spanish friars and the natives over the ownership of land. It was finally ended when the government agreed to pay the friars \$7,000,000 for their claims.

Secretary Hay now played a still more important part in the negotiations with China. Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia were prepared not only to ask for a large indemnity, but to seize territory as well. Hay, however, was successful in getting the agreement of Great Britain and Germany to favor the "open door" policy for international trade, not to ask for territory, and to oppose such a demand from Russia and France. An indemnity of \$333,000,000 was demanded by the allied powers,

\$24,000,000 of which was the allotted share of the United States. This latter amount largely exceeded the actual losses incurred by the United States in the war, whereupon the United States government established a noteworthy precedent in modern diplomacy by returning to China the surplus, or \$13,000,000.

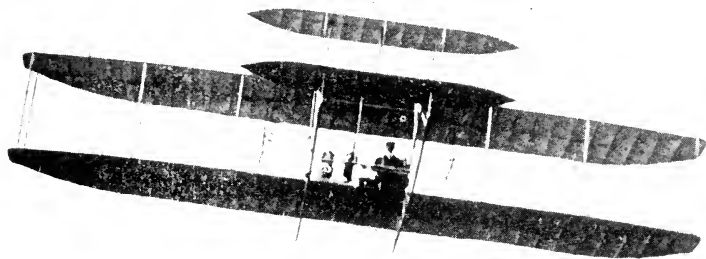


STATUE OF LIBERTY AT ENTRANCE TO NEW YORK HARBOR

271. Chinese Immigration Problems.—For some time after gold was discovered in California, Chinese laborers were welcomed in the Pacific States. After 1869, however, there was an influx of white laborers. The latter strongly

objected to the Chinese, who were able and willing to work longer for less wages. In California particularly, fierce race riots ensued, and the State legislature passed a number of laws discriminating against the Chinese, some of which were declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. In 1882 Congress passed an act prohibiting for ten years the further immigration of Chinese laborers. This act was renewed in 1892, and again, for an indefinite period, in 1902.

272. Presidential Elections of 1900.—In the presidential campaign of 1900, the Democrats again nominated William Jennings Bryan, with Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice-President. The Republicans again chose William McKinley as their candidate, with Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democrats opposed the holding of colonial possessions, and declared that this was the paramount issue of the campaign. A number of those who had been prominent supporters of the Republican party also declared that they were opposed to colonial



Courtesy Commercial Museum, Philadelphia

A WRIGHT AEROPLANE

expansion. These “anti-imperialists” supported Bryan and Stevenson. On the other hand, many Democrats upheld the new policies and voted for McKinley and Roosevelt.

273. Death of McKinley and Beginning of the Administration of Roosevelt.—President McKinley had served but a few months of his second term when, on the occasion of a visit to the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, September 6, 1901, he was struck down by the bullet of an anarchist. The wound proved fatal, and, on September 14, the President died. Theodore Roosevelt at once took the oath of office as President, and pledged himself to carry out the policies of his predecessor.

274. The Panama Canal.—The first term of President Roosevelt is notable for the energy with which the United States government took up plans for constructing a canal from the Atlantic to

the Pacific. Two routes were considered. One was through the Isthmus of Panama along the lines of abandoned French excavations begun in 1881 by the same man (de Lesseps) who, in 1869, had successfully completed the great Suez Canal. The other route proposed was through Nicaragua. This was longer, but considerable bodies of inland water could be utilized for navigation.



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Born New York, Oct. 27, 1858. Was graduated Harvard, 1880; member New York legislature, 1882-1884; appointed to Civil Service Commission 1889-95; president board of New York police commissioners, 1895-1897; assistant secretary of navy, 1897; resigned to enter United States army in Spanish war; promoted colonel, 1898; governor of New York, 1899-1900; Vice-President with William McKinley, 1901, succeeding to Presidency on death of latter, Sept. 14, 1901; elected President, 1904; became nominee of Progressive Party in 1912.

The Panama route was finally chosen. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain (1850) was abrogated, and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, containing more liberal provisions for the United States as the builder of the canal, was substituted for it (1901). Secretary

Colombia rejects proposal of United States for Panama Canal

Hay forthwith set about negotiating a treaty with Colombia, the terms of which were to include a ninety-nine years' lease of a strip of land six miles wide, with the right of renewal by the United States, and the payment to Colombia of \$10,000,000 in cash, with an annual rental of \$250,000, beginning nine years later. The proposal was rejected by the Colombian Senate.⁷

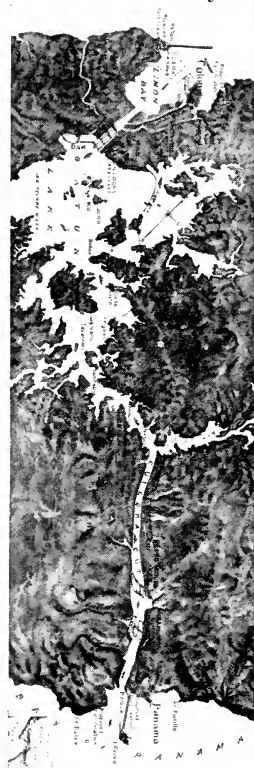
In Panama, dissatisfaction with the decision of the Colombian Senate manifested itself at once, and this disaffection the United States government was accused of fostering.

An insurrection followed in November, 1903.

The Colombian government hurried troops to Colon, but United States marines prevented their transportation to the scene of trouble by way of the Panama railroad on the ground that the transportation proposed would interfere with free transit across

⁷ The United States also agreed to pay to the stockholders of the old French Canal Company and its American underwriters \$40,000,000 for the right to utilize what had been done under their direction.

the isthmus of Panama, as guaranteed by the treaty between the United States and Colombia. The Colombian troops returned home and the insurrectionists proclaimed the republic of Panama, which the government of the United States promptly recognized and prepared to protect from attack by its parent country. Before the end of November a treaty was arranged with Panama on the basis of the one rejected by Colombia, with the difference that the United States acquired sovereign rights over a strip of land 10 miles in width, and guaranteed the integrity of the new republic. Construction of the canal was energetically begun in 1904. Later, this great work was given over to the management of Colonels G. W. Goethals and W. C. Gorgas. The former directed the engineering and general management of the enterprise, while the latter instituted a splendid system of sanitation, by which a formerly unhealthful region was made a place of safety for the thousands of men engaged in the undertaking.



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PANAMA CANAL ZONE

275. Labor Troubles.—President Roosevelt's first administration was marked by several large strikes, which caused considerable distress throughout the east. The first was the strike of the anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania, begun in May, 1902, and lasting for several months. The price of coal rose steadily, and, with winter approaching, became so scarce in the large cities that relief committees were organized. In October President Roosevelt secured the consent of operators and miners to submit their differences to a board of arbitration. Other strikes occurred among the employes of the meat packers in Chicago and among

the mill workers in Massachusetts, a settlement of the latter dispute being brought about by Governor Douglas of that State.

276. Election of President Roosevelt, 1904.—In 1904 the Republicans nominated President Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana. The Democrats nominated Alton B. Parker of New York and Henry G. Davis of West Virginia. Roosevelt and Fairbanks were elected by overwhelming majorities both in the popular vote and in the electoral colleges. In the latter the vote stood 336 to 140 in favor of the Republican nominees.

277. Roosevelt's Policies.—President Roosevelt's administration was marked by extensive investigations into the conduct of great financial and business corporations. Much corruption and fraud was shown to exist and steps were taken to eradicate the evil. Govern-
mental in-
vestigations Powerful aggregations of capital had contributed heavily to the campaign funds of both great political parties. In some States it was shown that the free use of money had debauched the electorate, so that extensive reforms were instituted in both State and Federal politics. It was also disclosed that railroad corporations had been giving special rates to favored shippers, and, in other cases, had been arbitrary and exorbitant in transportation charges. Congress, therefore, passed the Hepburn bill, intended better to regulate the railroads through increasing the membership and powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

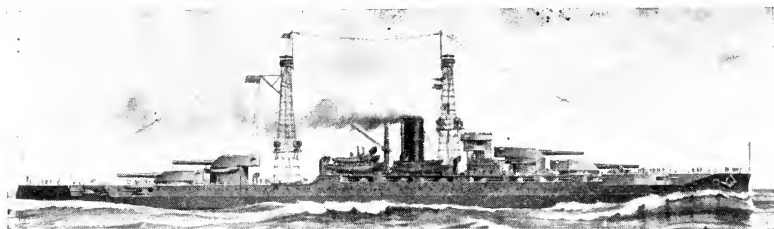
During the greater part of Roosevelt's term of office the President and Congress were at odds over a number of the measures urged by the Executive. For this reason, many of the President's policies were not at once adopted. They were, however, aggressively brought to the attention of the public by the President, who received a remarkable degree of popular support. One of the most important of the policies brought forward by the President was that Conservation
of natural
resources of the conservation of natural resources. He emphasized the growing need for such conservation in forest, stream, and mine. Although the response of Congress was not a hearty one at first, his ideas were partially put into practice through government appointees who labored with this end in view.

278. Foreign Relations under Roosevelt.—For some time affairs in Santo Domingo had been going from bad to worse. The government of that republic was deeply in debt to several European nations and was in a bankrupt condition. The nations affected were considering a forced payment by direct interference. Roosevelt took the view that interference with an American country under such circumstances did not violate the principle of the Monroe doctrine, provided no seizure of territory was contemplated; but he believed also that such interference might, from time to time, present serious complications prejudicial to the interests of the United States. He declared that if such complications were likely, the United States should see to it that no American country gave cause for interference. He proposed, therefore, that the United States should take charge of the revenues of Santo Domingo and superintend the settlement of the obligations of that republic. This plan was agreeable to both Santo Domingo and the creditor countries, but the United States Senate refused to endorse it. Roosevelt, however, proceeded, by semi-official processes, to carry out the arrangement without the consent of the Senate, and the latter subsequently adopted his plans in a modified form.⁸

279. Presidential Elections of 1908.—Although the preceding Republican administration had been called upon to weather two

⁸ "President Roosevelt's policy undoubtedly warded off serious difficulty in the case of Santo Domingo, but the ultimate effects of that policy are not yet evident; for, if it be taken as a precedent that the United States will in every case assume responsibility for the payment of the debts of American states, the bankers of Europe will find it profitable to buy up all doubtful claims against American states and urge their governments to press for payment. Our navy would thus be converted into a debt-collecting agency for the powers of Europe, and the only escape from such a predicament would be the establishment of a protectorate over the weaker Latin-American states, and the imposition upon them of a provision like the 'Platt Amendment,' by which Cuba has bound herself not to contract any foreign debt without the consent of the United States, the payment of which cannot be provided for by the ordinary revenues of the island!"—JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ, in "America as a World Power."

periods of financial and business depression in 1903 and again in 1907, it never went into a political combat with better prospects of success.⁹ This was due largely to President Roosevelt's personal popularity and the wide endorsement of his policies. When, therefore, the Republican convention nominated William H. Taft of Ohio, approved by Roosevelt, the latter's followers gave the nominee their hearty support. For Vice-President the Republicans nominated James S. Sherman of New York. The Democrats, advocating a policy of tariff reform and trust regulation, for the third time nominated William Jennings Bryan, with John



A MODERN BATTLESHIP OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY

This vessel is planned to excel the displacement of the *Oregon*, of Spanish war fame, by 20,000 tons. The *Oregon* carried four 13-inch guns in its main battery; this ship supports a battery of twelve 14-inch guns, of sufficient force and weight of metal to sink a squadron of *Oregons*. At the time of the laying of the keel of this super-dreadnaught, the plans called for the greatest battleship afloat or that was in process of construction by any nation. At the Brooklyn Navy Yard she is known as No. 39.

W. Kern of Indiana as their candidate for Vice-President. The confidence of the Republicans was justified in the result of the elections, and Taft and Sherman received 321 electoral votes to 162 for Bryan and Kern.¹⁰

⁹ "Having recovered from a collapse previous to the war with Spain, inflation and capitalization on a gigantic scale set in and did not run their course until a débâcle in 1907."—CHARLES A. BEARD, "Contemporary American History."

¹⁰ Although more decisively defeated, with regard to the electoral vote, in 1908 than in 1900, Bryan received in 1908 over a million and a quarter more votes than Parker in 1904. Bryan was the leader of the radical or progressive wing of the Democratic party, and was thus opposed to Parker, the leader of the conservative element. Eugene V. Debs was the candidate of the Socialist party and received over 400,000 votes.

280. Domestic Policies of President Taft and Federal Enactments during his Administration.—

Although the Republican party was a strong advocate of a protective tariff, there had, in the party itself, been so much outcry against the tariff of 1897 that the Republican platform promised a revision of the very high rates established at that time by a measure known as the Dingley Bill. Upon his inauguration in 1909, therefore, President Taft called a special session of Congress to take up this question. Subsequently, Congress revised the tariff, but in such a way as to cause considerable weight to be attached to the statement of the opposition that the rates were revised in the interest of those profiting by high protection rather than in the interest of the consumer. At any rate, a strong revulsion of sentiment set in against the Republicans, leading, two years after their overwhelming victory in 1908, to the loss of the House of Representatives to the Democrats.¹¹

During the debate on the tariff, President Taft sent a special message to Congress urging the passage of a constitutional amendment empowering Congress to levy a general

income tax on individuals. He also proposed a tax upon the earnings

of corporations with incomes in excess of \$5000. The proposed amendment passed both houses by the requisite majorities, was later ratified by three-fourths of the States and was proclaimed in force early in February, 1913, thus becoming the Sixteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution.



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WILLIAM H. TAFT

Born Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 15, 1857. Was graduated at Yale, 1878; judge Superior Court of Cincinnati, 1887-1890; U. S. solicitor-general 1890-1892; judge U. S. circuit court, 1892-1900; governor Philippines, 1901-1904; secretary of war in Roosevelt's cabinet, 1904; provisional governor of Cuba, 1906; elected President of United States, 1908; defeated for re-election in 1912; lecturer at Yale University, 1913.

¹¹ President Taft recommended a reciprocity agreement with Canada, which was approved by the United States Senate. The people of Canada, however, rejected the proposal when it was put to a vote in that country.

The President strongly emphasized the advisability of extending the jurisdiction of the international courts of arbitration, such as that already established at the Hague. His recommendations on these points were coldly received in the Senate; and, in the case of proposed treaties with Great Britain and France, were so amended in that body as to cause the treaties to be abandoned.

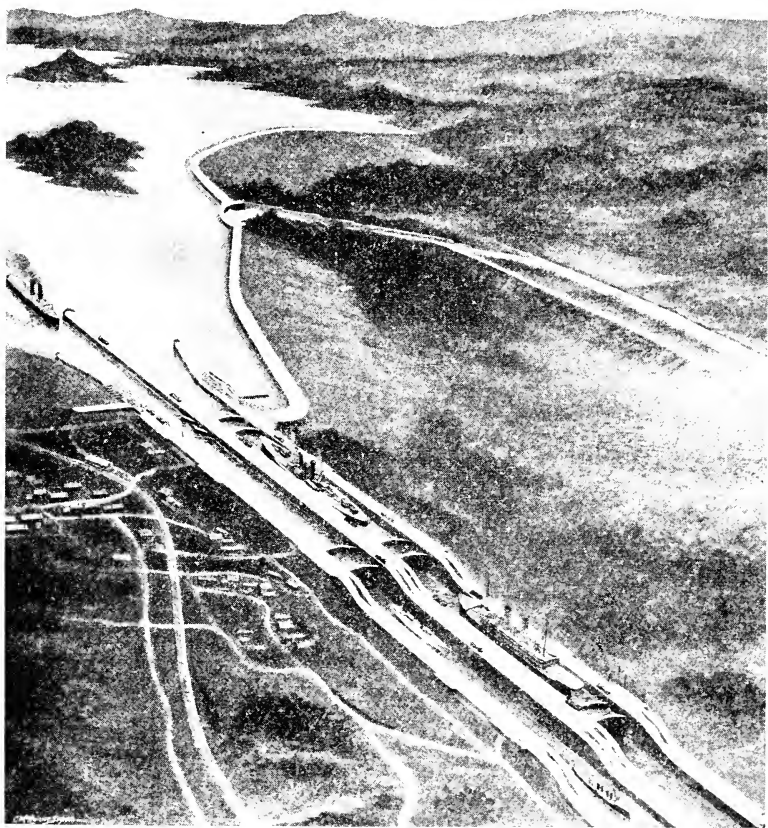
For many years there had been a strong popular demand for the election of United States Senators directly by the votes of the States rather than by the legislatures. This movement was steadily blocked in the Senate itself, but during the administration of President Taft the friends of direct elections succeeded in securing (May 13, 1912) the necessary two-thirds majority to pass a constitutional amendment providing for such elections. This was submitted to the States, the necessary three-fourths of which approved it, and the Seventeenth Amendment was proclaimed May 31, 1913.

President Taft recommended also and secured the passage of a law providing for the establishment of a postal savings bank system in connection with the United States Post Office. This system provided for the payment of two per cent. interest on money deposited at the post offices designated. Under the new plan, millions of dollars, chiefly in small amounts, were in a very short time deposited through the medium of the postal service.

Supported by President Taft, Congressman David J. Lewis brought to a successful issue a long-continued fight for the inauguration of a parcels post system. A bill to this effect passed both houses of Congress in 1912 and the system was put into operation January 1, 1913. At first the size and weight of packages accepted were much limited, but, in the succeeding administration, the Postmaster-General authorized very material extensions in the service.

281. Presidential Elections of 1912.—During the latter part of President Taft's term, considerable dissatisfaction with the

course of the Administration was felt within the ranks of the Republican party. In Congress, the leaders of the revolt within the party were called "insurgents," but later, under ex-Pres-



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BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PANAMA CANAL LOCKS

ident Roosevelt, they took the name of "Progressives."¹² In

¹² The pioneer "insurgent," Senator La Follette, of Michigan, had begun a revolt against the older leaders during the administration of Roosevelt.

the Republican convention at Chicago in 1912 a great contest for the control of the party arose between the Progressives and the Taft adherents. Roosevelt and the Progressives were defeated, and Taft and Sherman were again nominated, although a large number of the Progressive delegates withdrew from the convention. Some of those thus bolting, and others from the different States, met in Chicago in August and nominated ex-President Roosevelt and Hiram S. Johnson of California.

In the meantime the Democrats held their convention at Baltimore, and, after a series of stormy sessions, nominated Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey and Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana. The Democrats pledged themselves to reduce materially the tariff duties. The Republicans were inclined to defend the measure they had passed during the Taft administration, and to appeal to the more conservative sentiment of the country. The Progressive party advocated many social reforms, and emphasized the conservation by the Federal government of national resources, but said comparatively little about the tariff question. A vigorous campaign was conducted by the candidates, which resulted in the election of Woodrow Wilson by an overwhelming vote in the electoral colleges, although, like Lincoln in 1861, he did not receive a majority of the popular vote over the other candidates. Four hundred and thirty-five electoral votes were cast for Wilson and Marshall, eighty-one for Roosevelt and Johnson, and fifteen for Taft and Butler.¹³

282. Administration of Woodrow Wilson.—Upon his inauguration in 1913, President Wilson called a special session of Congress to fulfill the tariff reform pledges of the Democratic platform. On this subject he delivered his message in person, becoming thereby the first president since John Adams to address Congress in this manner.

As in the case of nearly all tariff legislation since the days of Madison and Monroe, there was protracted debate over the

¹³ Nicholas Murray Butler, of New York. Butler's name was substituted for that of Sherman, who died before the electoral vote was cast.

proposed changes. Much pressure from within their own party was brought to bear upon the Democratic leaders to secure exemption from the general reduction of certain specified articles, such as sugar; but the President especially, as the responsible head of his party, stood firm, and, after a debate of several months' duration, an act was passed that marked the most material reductions made in the tariff rates for over half a century.

Upon the passage of the tariff act, known as the Underwood-Simmons Bill, President Wilson urged the prolongation of the special session in order to take

Currency reform

up the problem of reforming the

Federal currency system. It was generally admitted that this department of the government needed reorganization, and that a system adapted to the war times of the middle of the previous century was not suited to modern requirements. Statesmen and political economists, however, differed greatly as to the methods of reform, although practically all agreed in desiring a more elastic currency which would lessen the danger of the recurrence of financial panics. After protracted debate, Congress passed the Glass-Owen Currency Bill, which provided for a number of "regional reserve banks," under Federal direction.



WOODROW WILSON

Born Staunton, Va., Dec. 28, 1856. Was graduated Princeton, 1879; pursued studies in law and political science at the University of Virginia and at Johns Hopkins University; practised law, Atlanta, Ga., 1882-1883, engaged in educational work and became president of Princeton University, 1902; elected Governor of New Jersey, 1910, and President of United States, 1912.

Early in his administration, President Wilson took a decided stand in opposition to what has been called "dollar diplomacy," or the principle by which, briefly stated, the United States government is supposed to "protect" or guarantee by armed intervention, if need be, the investments of Americans in foreign countries. Consequently, the President summarily set aside the possibility of governmental support to United States bankers in the allied-powers loan to China, which was under consideration at this time.

Opposition to "dollar diplomacy"

On somewhat the same principle the President refused to interfere in the internal broils of Mexico, although the interests of citizens of the United States were suffering from the disorders there. On account of these disorders, the President warned all such citizens against imperiling their lives by remaining in Mexico during the time of civil conflict. He further refused to recognize General Huerta as provisional president. The latter had violently overthrown President Madero,

Attitude
towards
Mexico



THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

who was brutally murdered, apparently by Huerta's orders. President Wilson based his refusal to recognize Huerta on the ground that Huerta had usurped the government by this irregular and bloody act, and that he had not been properly elected according to the constitution and laws of Mexico.

SIDELIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Lack of space prohibits a discussion of many matters indirectly concerning the United States or directly concerning the various States in the Union. Among the former may be mentioned Roosevelt's initiative in offering the friendly offices of the United States in ending the war between Russia

and Japan. Among the matters pertaining to internal affairs may be mentioned the admission in 1907 of the State of Oklahoma and its remarkable growth, and of the States of Arizona and New Mexico.

2. No mention has been made of the great fires at Chicago in 1871, the most destructive of modern times, and that in Boston in the following year; Charleston suffered from earthquake in 1886; Baltimore was visited by a severe conflagration in 1904; and in 1906 a large part of San Francisco was left in ruins by both earthquake and fire; from time to time, also, floods have almost swept away cities in the great Mississippi Valley, but in each instance the indomitable American spirit has risen above the disaster and built better than before. In many cases the catastrophe itself brought political reform in its wake, and improved methods of popular government were established in the midst of the ruins.

3. The discovery of rich gold deposits in Alaska in 1897 caused a rush of immigration into that country. It was also found that Alaska had enormous deposits of coal. Immediately corporations were formed to get control of this valuable property; but, with a view to securing legislation likely to safeguard the interests and future welfare of the public, the conservationists were able to hold up exploitation by these organizations. In the meantime, all development was delayed. As a solution of the difficulty, President Wilson proposed, in a message to Congress, that the Federal government should undertake to build railroads to open up the mineral resources of the last great continental territory still under its control.

4. Not long after the noted American engineer, James B. Eads, had deepened the Mississippi River, he proposed to construct a railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (the narrowest part of Mexico) that would transfer ships and their cargoes from ocean to ocean. Imagine an ocean-going steamer of to-day being thus transported. In the case of the Panama canal, important history is still being made, just as interesting details may be learned with regard to its past.

5. As the engines and instruments of destruction become more terrible, the serious contemplation of war is almost enough to prevent any civilized nation from engaging in it. Day by day modern civilization becomes more complex. There is more to lose by war, just as its agencies proportionately gain in their power to destroy property and to snuff out human lives. Peace movements are, therefore, becoming stronger; and even if an occasional clash of arms apparently sets them aside, it is but for a time only. For the promotion of the cause of international peace a great palace has already been built



COL. GEORGE W. GOETHALS,
CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE
PANAMA CANAL

at the Hague in Holland, a country which by its very smallness is considered safe from war, and thereby is also saved from the enormous cost in modern times of preparing for the possibility of war.

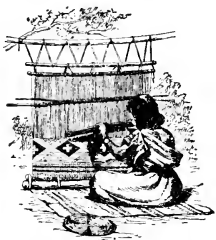
6. It is remarkable that the declaration of war against Spain should have passed Congress on April 19, the anniversary of the first bloodshed in the Revolution, as well as of the first bloodshed in the War of Secession. An interesting incident of the war with Spain was the remarkable trip of the battleship *Oregon* from San Francisco around Cape Horn in order to join Sampson's fleet in the West Indies. The declaration on the part of the United States government that it would retire from Cuba after setting it free from Spanish control was ridiculed in every country of the civilized world. Few believed that the United States would live up to its promise.

7. But the greatest achievement of the United States government in connection with the liberation of Cuba was brought about, not by sailors or soldiers, but by a group of army surgeons, who freed the island from the deadly epidemics of yellow fever. This triumph of peace is of inestimable value to the whole world, and it was made possible by the discovery that a species of mosquito was the carrier of the dreaded disease. Under the direction of Major Walter Reed, M.D., and his assistants, Doctors James Carroll, Aristides Agramonte, and Jesse W. Lazear, a number of brave men permitted various tests to be made upon them. Doctors Lazear and Carroll knowingly permitted themselves to be bitten by infected mosquitoes, thus contracting the fever, from which Dr. Lazear died. The deaths, a few years later, of Major Reed and Dr. Carroll were attributable to the effects of their work and experiments in Cuba. Both may be said to have perished in the service, not of their country only, but of all humanity. Their names should, therefore, be forever enrolled in the splendid company of scientists, statesmen, and patriots who have ennobled the pages of United States history.

APPENDIX A

THE ABORIGINES OF NORTH AMERICA

It is important to remember that when the English began to settle on the Atlantic seaboard, Indians had become more or less familiar with the appearance of the white men. They did not regard the latter as the natives of the West Indies or of South America regarded Columbus and the Spaniards. The North American Indians were inclined to be hostile to the white invaders



INDIAN WOMAN WEAVING



INDIANS BUILDING A CANOE

from the first settlement at Jamestown to the settlement of Georgia. Tact and fair dealing, however, prevented or postponed conflict in several of the Colonies.

The natives of South and Central America had developed a more or less advanced form of civilization; but the Indians of North America were either barbarous or savage, although there were marked differences between the tribes. The most undeveloped, or savage, Indians lived in the northwestern third of North America; while the remainder of the continent was inhabited by barbarous tribes. These last were not, as were the savage Indians, altogether dependent upon the chase, but had

developed the rudiments of agriculture; and from them the English learned the use of maize, or Indian corn, and tobacco.¹

As will be seen from the map on page , the barbarous Indians of the east were in three great divisions or races: the Algonquins, afterwards the allies of the French; the Iroquois, frequently the allies of the English; and the Muskoki in the far south, the last of the Indians east of the Mississippi to be dispossessed by the white man.



JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

Born Burlington, N. J., Sept. 15, 1789. Educated in New York and at Yale College; served in U. S. navy, 1808-1811; took up authorship, almost by chance and soon won distinction as a writer on Indian themes and adventure; he also wrote narratives of the American Revolution and of seafaring life. Died Coopers-town, N. Y., 1851.

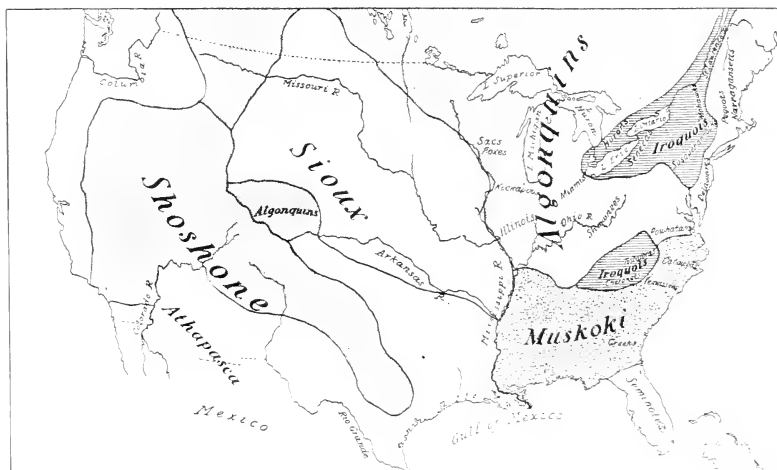
Each of these stocks or races was divided into tribes. These were either more or less united, as were the Five Nations of the Iroquois, or they were almost constantly at war with one another. An examination of the map will show that many tribal names have become familiar to us either in connection with the early settlements, as in the case of the Powhatans and the Narragansetts; or they have given us names inseparably connected with the geography of our country, as in the case of the Illinois, the Mohawks, and others.

Nothing definite has been ascertained with regard to the origin of the North American Indians, although there are several suppositions as to their beginnings. It seems certain, however, that they were living in America thousands of years before the white man came to disturb their sway.

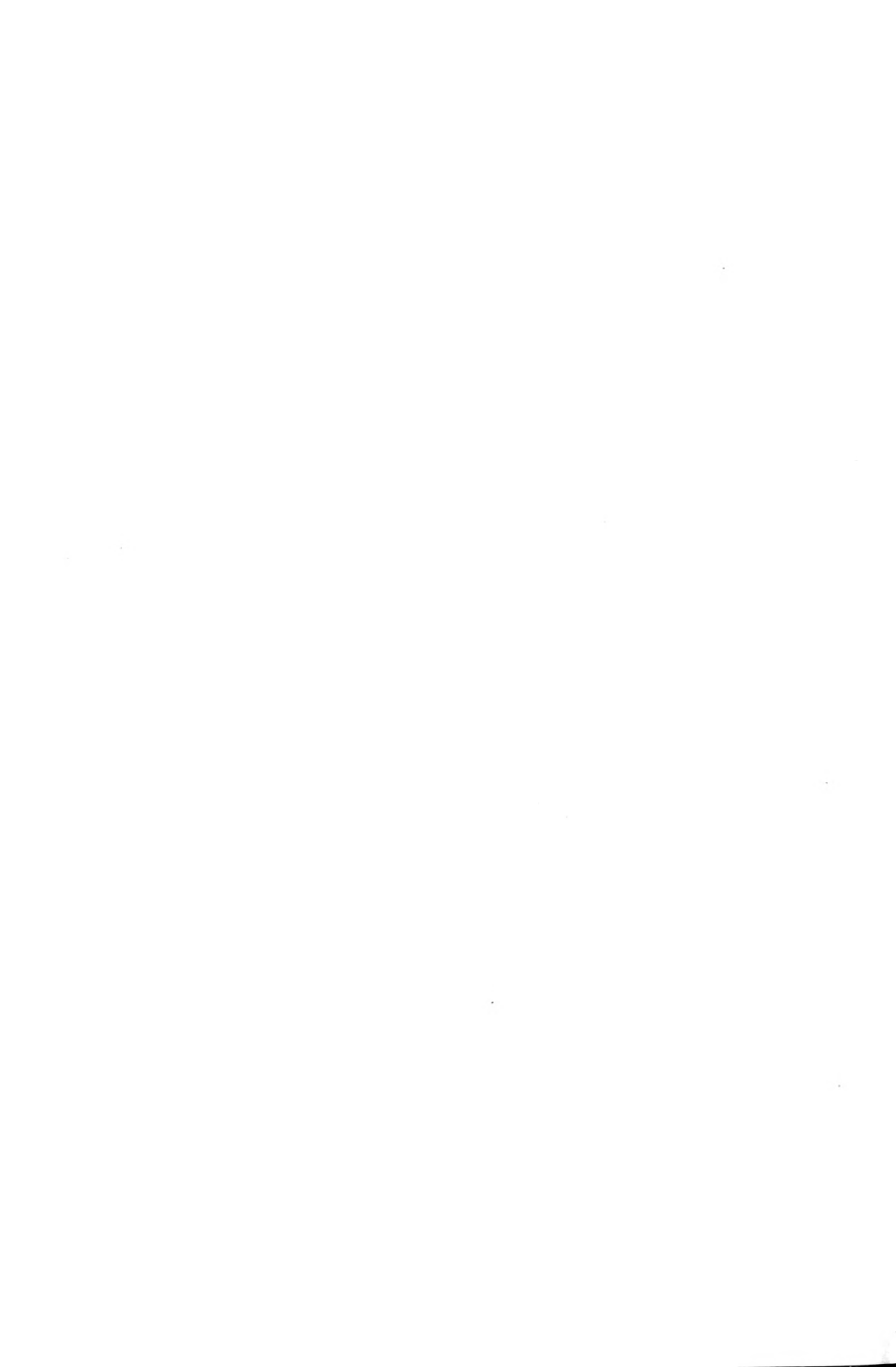
In appearance there were decided differences between the different tribes; they were generally characterized by a cinnamon color, high cheek bones, and dark eyes and black hair. As a rule, the men had no beards, in which respect they were not unlike the Chinese.

The barbarous Indians lived in villages, composed of wigwams

¹ A portion of the southwestern part of the continent was inhabited by semi-civilized Indians.



TERRITORY OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN STOCKS



or of "long houses." Some of the latter accommodated twenty to fifty families, separated by partitions or stalls. They were accustomed to the use of fire, which was confined to a great fire pit in the centre of the long houses. The smoke escaped through a hole in the roof, which as a rule was constructed out of some kind of bark.



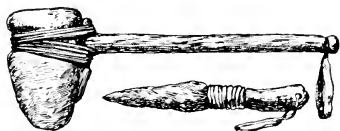
INDIAN BOW AND ARROW



INDIAN POTTERY

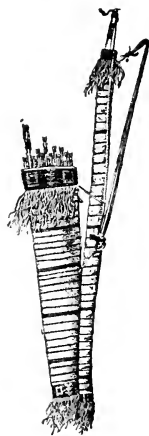
The chief agricultural implement of the Indian was a hoe made of sharpened stone; this was left almost wholly to the women to wield, as the warriors considered manual labor degrading. The latter, on the hunting trail or the war path, were armed with rude stone hatchets or tomahawks, with which they brained their foes, or their victims, as the case may have been. They also used sharp pointed stones as arrow heads. In time they learned to use the white man's firearms and other weapons.

The religion of the Indian was very simple. He believed in a heaven, which he called the



INDIAN STONE IMPLEMENTS

Happy Hunting Ground, to which the spirits of all Indians would go after death. This heaven was not unlike the



INDIAN QUIVER AND BOW-CASE

earth, but was free from its ills and pain. On earth he scalped his foes, with the hope that Indians so treated would not be received in the Happy Hunting Ground. On the same principle, he would risk his life to preserve the scalp of a slain friend or chief. Generally faithful to tribe, friend, or chief, he was terribly cruel to

all captives and delighted in torturing them in every way his ingenuity could devise. Moreover, it was the custom of those subjected to torture to show the utmost indifference to pain, and the victims even taunted their captors up to the time that death ended their agonies. Indian clans and tribes would have "totems" or emblems sacred to some animal, in the name of which religious ceremonies would be held.



Courtesy Appleton's Cyclopedia

WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS

Born Charleston, S. C., April 17, 1806. Educated at Charleston; studied law, but took up writing as editor, novelist, historian, and poet; as a writer, achieved greatest success on Indian life and in narratives of the American Revolution. Died 1870.

The barbarous Indians, as children of the forest, became the closest observers of nature. Their perceptions were almost as keen as those of the lower animals; and, not unlike many wild animals, they did not thrive in settlements or confined quarters. Their love of personal freedom was as strong as that of the white man; unlike the African negro, therefore, they were never happy in slavery. Under conditions of involuntary servitude the American Indian perished.

The government of the barbarous Indians was simple. Families related by ties of blood made up a clan, which frequently dwelt in villages. Except for weapons, beads, and trinkets, there was little or no private property, provisions and shelter belonging to all in common. A number of united clans constituted a tribe. Every clan elected its own chief or sachem. A number of such sachems would constitute a tribal council, which itself would sometimes have a tribal war-chief.²

² This chapter may be assigned for reading or study at any point in the narrative of the preceding pages. It was not inserted in the body of the book because of the desire of the author to eliminate, as far as possible, breaks in the continuous story of exploration and settlement. The author suggests introducing this chapter or its subject matter in classroom talks from time to time, especially in connection with the Indian wars, as these are taken up in the history.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world :

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature ; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States :

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.—JOSIAH BARTLETT, WILLIAM WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay.—SAMUEL ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBERT TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island.—STEPHEN HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut.—ROGER SHERMAN, SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, WILLIAM WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York.—WILLIAM FLOYD, PHILIP LIVINGSTON, FRANCIS LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey.—RICHARD STOCKTON, JOHN WITHERSPOON, FRANCIS HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRAHAM CLARK.

Pennsylvania.—ROBERT MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEORGE CLYMER, JAMES SMITH, GEORGE TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEORGE ROSS.

Delaware.—CÆSAR RODNEY, GEORGE READ, THOMAS MCKEAN.

Maryland.—SAMUEL CHASE, WILLIAM PACA, THOMAS STONE, CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton.

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Virginia.—GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, THOMAS JEFFERSON, BENJAMIN HARRISON, THOMAS NELSON, FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina.—WILLIAM HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina.—EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOMAS HEYWARD, THOMAS LYNCH, ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia.—BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEORGE WALTON.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such a manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3.¹

¹ See Article XIV., Amendments.

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4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make

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or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday of December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the Pres-

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

ident of the United States ; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States ; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII. The Congress shall have power ;

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States ;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States ;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes ;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads ;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries ;

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9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;
10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations ;
11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;
12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;
13. To provide and maintain a navy ;
14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;
15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ;
16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;
17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings ; and
18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

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6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States ; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress : but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

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3. [The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]¹

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

¹ This clause is superseded by Article XII., Amendments.

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7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II. 1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

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SECTION IV. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

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2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: *Provided*, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses of the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thou-

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

sand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.

William Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.

Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.

William Livingston,
David Brearley,
William Paterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE.

George Reed,
Gunning Bedford,
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND.

James McHenry,
Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer,
Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.

John Blair,
James Madison.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Blount,
Richard Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

John Rutledge,
Charles C. Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.

William Few,
Abraham Baldwin.

Attest : WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves ; they shall name in

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE XIV.

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

ARTICLE XV.

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

[This Article replaces the provision in Article I, Section III, of the Constitution for the choosing of Senators by the Legislatures.]

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The Constitution was ratified by the thirteen original States in the following order:

Delaware, December 7, 1787; Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787; New Jersey, December 18, 1787; Georgia, January 2, 1788; Connecticut, January 9, 1788; Massachusetts, February 6, 1788; Maryland, April 28, 1788; South Carolina, May 23, 1788; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788; Virginia, June 25, 1788; New York, July 26, 1788; North Carolina, November 21, 1789; Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.

RATIFICATION OF THE AMENDMENTS.

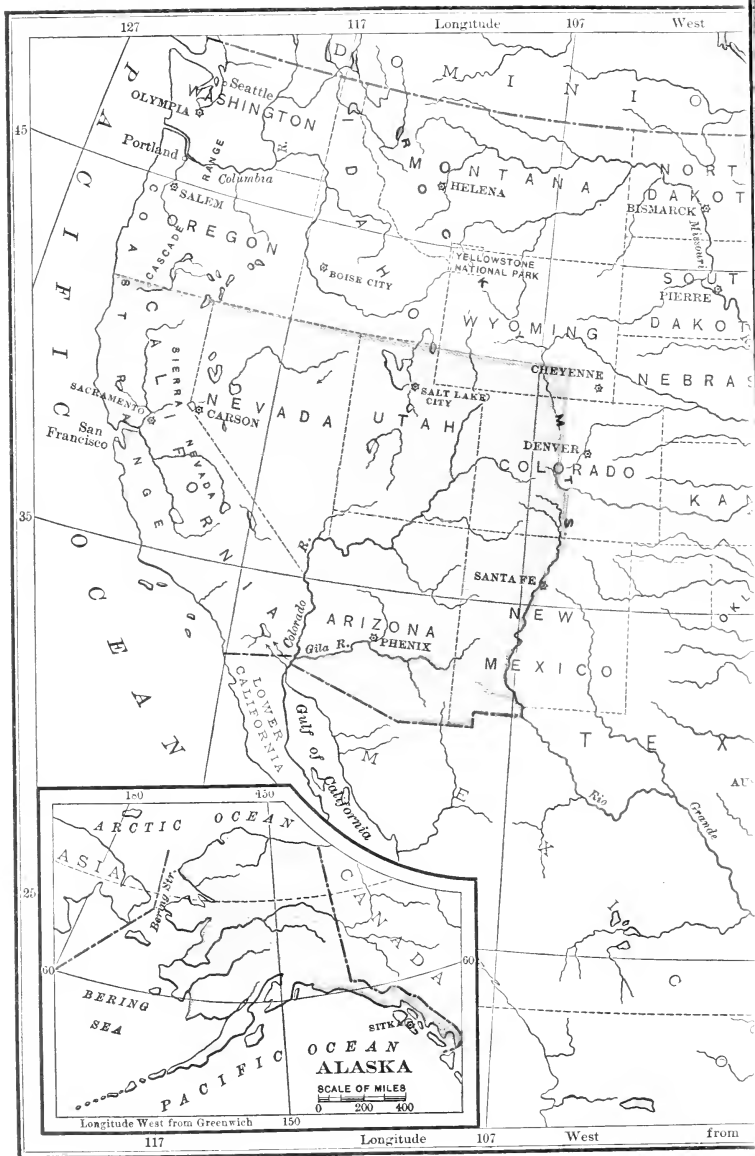
I. to X. inclusive were declared in force December 15, 1791; XI. was declared in force January 8, 1798; XII. was declared in force September 25, 1804; XIII. was proclaimed December 18, 1865; XIV. was proclaimed July 28, 1868; XV. was proclaimed March 30, 1870; XVI. was proclaimed February 25, 1913; XVII. was proclaimed May 30, 1913.

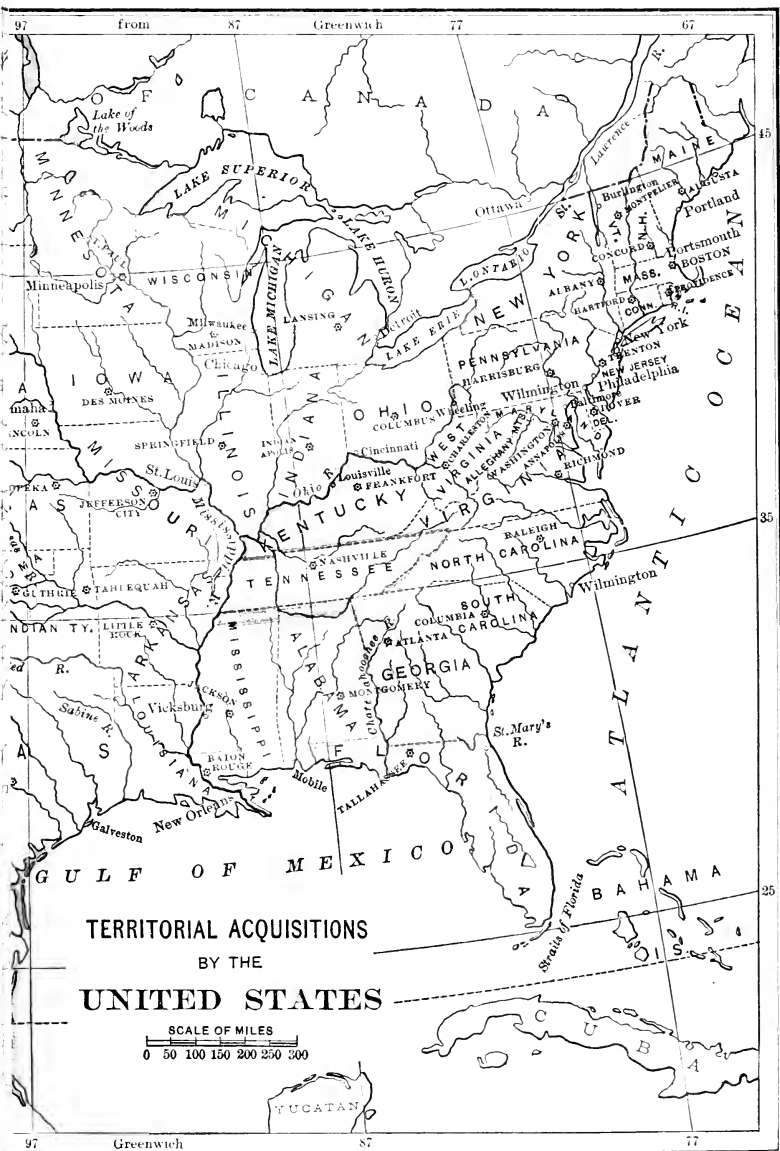
Table of States and Territories.

NO.	NAME.	ORIGIN OF NAME.	DATE OF AD- MISSION.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
1	Delaware	In honor of Lord Delaware	1787	2,050	202,322
2	Pennsylvania	Penn's woodland	1787	45,215	7,465,111
3	New Jersey	From the Island of Jersey	1787	7,815	2,537,167
4	Georgia	In honor of George II.	1788	59,475	2,609,121
5	Connecticut	Indian—long river	1788	4,990	1,114,756
6	Massachusetts	Indian—at the great hill	1788	8,315	3,366,416
7	Maryland	In honor of Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I.	1788	12,210	1,295,346
8	South Carolina	In honor of Charles II.	1788	30,570	1,515,400
9	New Hampshire	From Hampshire, England	1788	9,305	430,572
10	Virginia	In honor of Queen Elizabeth	1788	42,450	2,061,612
11	New York	In honor of the Duke of York	1788	49,170	9,113,279
12	North Carolina	In honor of Charles II.	1789	52,250	2,206,287
13	Rhode Island	Dutch—Rood (Red) Island, or, from the Isle of Rhodes	1790	1,250	542,610
14	Vermont	French—green mountains	1791	9,565	355,956
15	Kentucky	Indian—probably hunting land	1792	40,400	2,289,905
16	Tennessee	Indian—crooked river	1796	42,050	2,184,789
17	Ohio	Indian—beautiful river	1803	41,060	4,767,121
18	Louisiana	In honor of Louis XIV.	1812	48,720	1,656,388
19	Indiana	From the word "Indian"	1816	36,350	2,700,876
20	Mississippi	Indian—great river	1817	46,810	1,797,114
21	Illinois	From name of river and In- dian confederacy	1818	56,650	5,638,591
22	Alabama	Indian—here we rest	1819	52,250	2,138,093
23	Maine	The main land	1820	33,040	742,371
24	Missouri	Indian—muddy river	1821	69,415	3,293,335
25	Arkansas	Indian—after its main river	1836	53,850	1,574,449
26	Michigan	Indian—great sea	1837	58,915	2,810,173
27	Florida	Spanish—flowery	1845	58,680	751,139
28	Texas	Indian—name of a tribe or confederacy	1845	265,780	3,896,542
29	Iowa	Indian—meaning doubtful	1846	56,025	2,224,771
30	Wisconsin	Indian—probably gathering waters	1848	56,040	2,333,860
31	California	Spanish—from an old romance	1850	158,360	2,377,549
32	Minnesota	Indian—cloudy water	1858	83,365	2,075,708
33	Oregon	Meaning doubtful	1859	96,030	672,765
34	Kansas	Indian—meaning doubtful	1861	82,080	1,690,949
35	West Virginia	From Virginia	1863	24,780	1,221,119
36	Nevada	Spanish—snowy mountains	1864	110,700	81,875
37	Nebraska	Indian—shallow water	1867	77,510	1,192,214
38	Colorado	Spanish—red or ruddy	1876	103,925	799,024
39	North Dakota	Indian—the allies	1889	70,795	577,056
40	South Dakota	Indian—the allies	1889	77,650	583,888
41	Montana	Spanish— <i>montana</i> , a mountain	1889	146,080	376,053
42	Washington	In honor of Washington	1889	69,180	1,141,990
43	Idaho	Indian—gem of the mountains	1890	84,800	325,594
44	Wyoming	Indian—broad plains	1890	97,890	145,965
45	Utah	Indian—mountain home	1896	84,970	373,351
46	Oklahoma	Indian—fine country	1907	70,430	1,657,135
47	New Mexico	From Mexico	1912	122,580	327,301
48	Arizona	Meaning doubtful	1912	113,020	264,354
..	District of Columbia	From Columbus	70	331,069
..	Alaska	Indian—great, or main land	577,390	64,356
..	Hawaii	Given by the Natives	8,740	191,908

Table of the Presidents

No	NAME.	STATE.	BORN.	DIED.	TERM OF OFFICE.	VICE-PRESIDENT.
1	George Washington . . .	Virginia . . .	1732	1799	Two terms, 1789-1797 . . .	John Adams.
2	John Adams . . .	Massachusetts . . .	1735	1826	One term, 1797-1801 . . .	Thomas Jefferson.
3	Thomas Jefferson . . .	Virginia . . .	1743	1826	Two terms, 1801-1809 . . .	{ Aaron Burr. { George Clinton.
4	James Madison . . .	Virginia . . .	1751	1836	Two terms, 1809-1817 . . .	{ Elbridge Gerry. { Daniel D. Tompkins.
5	James Monroe . . .	Virginia . . .	1758	1831	Two terms, 1817-1825 . . .	John C. Calhoun.
6	John Quincy Adams . . .	Massachusetts . . .	1767	1848	One term, 1825-1829 . . .	{ John C. Calhoun. { Martin Van Buren.
7	Andrew Jackson . . .	Tennessee . . .	1767	1845	Two terms, 1829-1837 . . .	{ Richard M. Johnson. { John Tyler.
8	Martin Van Buren . . .	New York . . .	1782	1862	One term, 1837-1841 . . .	George M. Dallas.
9	William H. Harrison . . .	Ohio . . .	1773	1841	One month, 1841 . . .	Millard Fillmore.
10	John Tyler . . .	Virginia . . .	1790	1862	3 years, 11 months, 1841-1845 . . .	William R. King.
11	James K. Polk . . .	Tennessee . . .	1795	1849	One term, 1845-1849 . . .	{ Hannibal Hamlin. { Andrew Johnson.
12	Zachary Taylor . . .	Louisiana . . .	1784	1850	1 year, 4 months, 1849-1850 . . .	Schuyler Colfax.
13	Millard Fillmore . . .	New York . . .	1800	1874	2 years, 8 months, 1850-1853 . . .	Henry Wilson.
14	Franklin Pierce . . .	New Hampshire . . .	1804	1869	One term, 1853-1857 . . .	William A. Wheeler.
15	James Buchanan . . .	Pennsylvania . . .	1791	1868	One term, 1857-1861 . . .	Chester A. Arthur.
16	Abraham Lincoln . . .	Illinois . . .	1809	1865	One term, 1 month, 1861-1865 . . .	Thomas A. Hendricks.
17	Andrew Johnson . . .	Tennessee . . .	1808	1875	3 years, 11 months, 1865-1869 . . .	Levi P. Morton.
18	Ulysses S. Grant . . .	Illinois . . .	1822	1885	Two terms, 1869-1877 . . .	{ Adlai E. Stevenson. { Garret A. Hobart.
19	Rutherford B. Hayes . . .	Ohio . . .	1822	1893	One term, 1877-1881 . . .	Theodore Roosevelt.
20	James A. Garfield . . .	Ohio . . .	1831	1881	6 months, 15 days, 1881 . . .	Charles W. Fairbanks.
21	Chester A. Arthur . . .	New York . . .	1830	1886	3 yrs., 5 mos., 15 days, 1881-1885 . . .	James S. Sherman.
22	Grover Cleveland . . .	New York . . .	1837	1908	One term, 1885-1889 . . .	Thomas R. Marshall.
23	Benjamin Harrison . . .	Indiana . . .	1833	1901	One term, 1889-1893 . . .	
24	Grover Cleveland . . .	New York . . .	1837	1908	One term, 1893-1897 . . .	
25	William McKinley . . .	Ohio . . .	1843	1901	One term, 6 mos., 10 d., 1897-1901 . . .	
26	Theodore Roosevelt . . .	New York . . .	1858	..	1 term, 3 y., 5 m., 20 d., 1901-1909 . . .	
27	William H. Taft . . .	Ohio . . .	1857	..	1909-1913 . . .	
28	Woodrow Wilson . . .	Virginia . . .	1856	..	1913- . . .	







$$\begin{array}{r} 380 \\ 253 \\ \hline 127 \end{array}$$



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